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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES IN FOUR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA COUNTRIES: BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, TANZANIA AND ZIMBABWE

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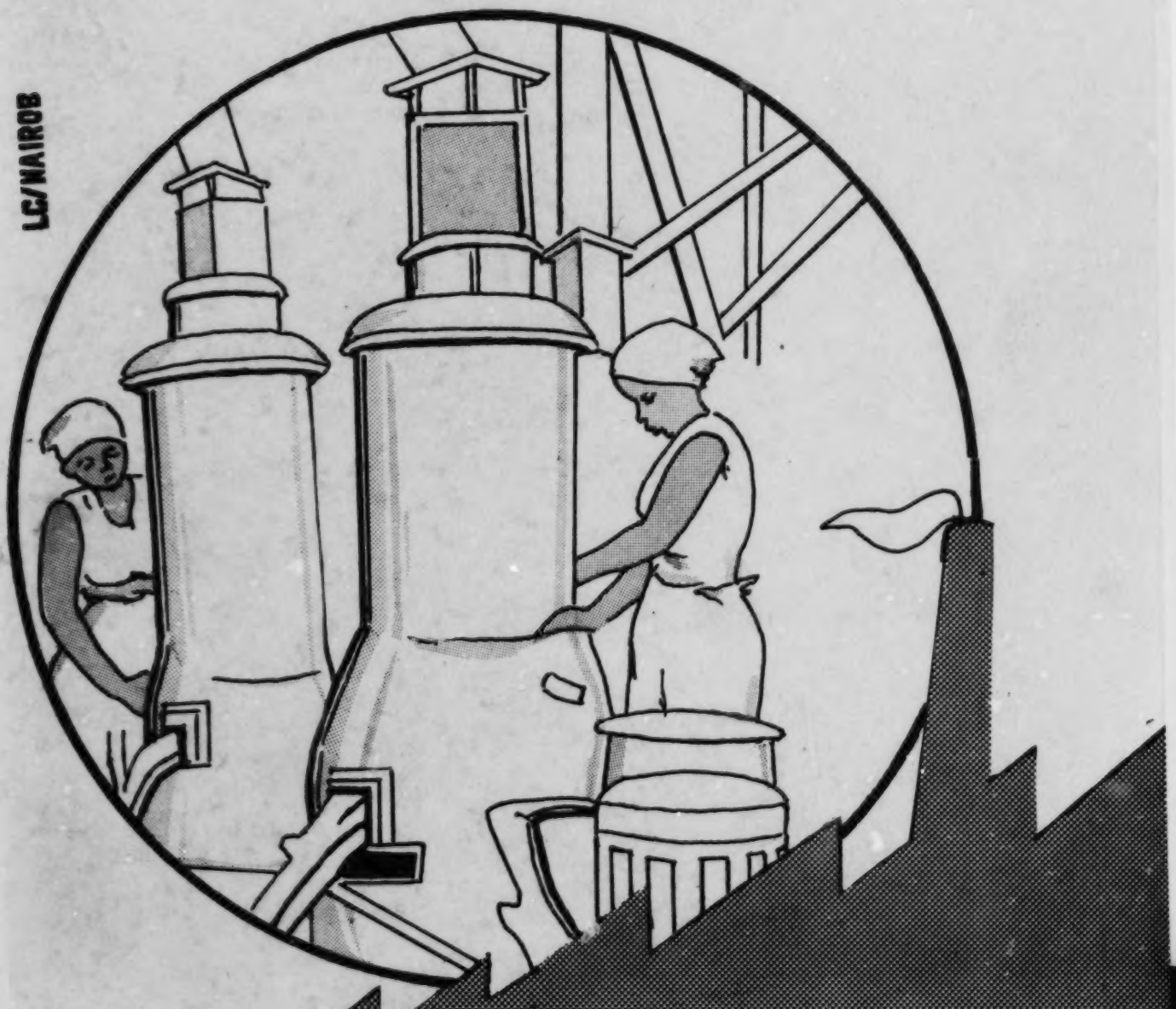

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES IN EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICA AND MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING SUCH ROLE

African Training and Research Centre for Women

Research Series

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PART I

A. INTRODUCTION

The women of Africa have historically played key roles in the African economy as contributors to their society and as caretakers of the family while their husbands are away working in mines, plantations or cities. They continue to be involved in a wide spectrum of activities such as subsistence and cash crop farming, trades and services in addition to their numerous household obligations. The UN Decade for Women falls at a time of severe economic recession and a food crisis of major proportions in sub-saharan Africa. Where as prior attention in the continent and internationally had been focused on cash crops and GNP, there is now a focus on the productivity of the small farmer. African women are starting to get acknowledged as the ones who predominantly produce food crops. In spite of their significant roles in agriculture, they are handicapped in many ways when they attempt to improve their standard of living. They do not have adequate tools for development; such as equal access to non-formal training or to extensions services. There are many constraints, legal, financial, social and cultural that are obstacles to increasing women's integration into the agro-industries. These are some of the issues that the study addresses. It is a direct follow-up to the ECA, African Training and Research Centre for Women,studies on women in industrialisation and women in Africa to the year 2000. findings from these studies had pointed to a need for enhancing the participation of women in agro-industries.

The Ford Foundation which supports activities related to women's employment and food production activities is supporting this study. The African Training and Research Centre for Women (ATRCW) in line with the interest of the Ford Foundation has undertaken the following research activities in this area. It has commissioned Juliana N. Sendi as a consultant to research the role of women in agro-industries in Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe. The Consultant visited the four countries and did all the research and preparation for these studies. The study which was undertaken between August and September of 1988 assesses the current situation of women in various agro-industries and measures that can be taken to strengthen their roles.

B. SUMMARY REVIEW OF THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES IN THE FOUR EASTERN AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

BOTSWANA, LESOTHO, TANZANIA AND ZIMBABWE

The East and Southern African countries of Tanzania, Botswana, Lesotho and Zimbabwe are members of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, SADCC. Members states in this grouping enjoy potential economic advantages in many areas including the enlarged market for their industrial products including those of agro-industries.

The four countries are however different in many other ways and these differences have had a bearing on the fate and fortunes of women in the respective countries. Lesotho with many of its able bodied men spending most of the year in South Africa, has forced her women into roles which they may have not taken on. While in Tanzania, the equality and public ownership of industries ushered in under the context of the 1967 Arusha Declaration has meant more competitiveness with men in job acquisition at least in the public sector. In Zimbabwe the historical realities whereby women had the least opportunities and education make their relative participation in agro-industries less pronounced considering the extent of the country's level of agro-industrial development.

The Extent of Participation of Women in Agro-industries

In the area of food processing, Zimbabwe which has a more developed agricultural base has equal well developed agro-industries followed by Tanzania. The varieties are most impressive in Zimbabwe but the potential for Tanzania is significant. In both Lesotho and Botswana the quantity and the range of agro-industries is limited. When it comes to non-food processing industries, the situation is no different except in as far as that the non-food industries require less casual labour. In non-food processing industries in Tanzania, Lesotho and Botswana, women's participation is greater than that of Zimbabwe on account of social political history which provided less opportunities to women in Zimbabwe.

Zimbabwe possesses a wide range of industries which provide inputs for agriculture including tools, implements, chemicals and machineries. There is a limited range of implements produced in the other two countries particularly, Tanzania. Lesotho hardly produces anything under this category.

Women are employed in a variety of agro-industries in all the four countries, characteristically, the bulk are in semi-skilled and casual labour categories. There is also a tendency for women to be in specific lines of operation quite often requiring routine or repetitive work such as canning, assembling or clerical work. Very few are in technical or management categories in all the countries except in Lesotho perhaps, because of the peculiar circumstances of men being away in RSA most of the year. Tanzania to some extent is also an exception perhaps, due to the ideological influences and the predominance of public enterprises where government decrees are readily enforced. Much of agro-processing in Zimbabwe and Botswana are in private ownership and in the case of Zimbabwe these belong to multinationals, whose employment modalities are largely dictated outside the country.

While in agro-industries women have demonstrated that they play a significant role particularly in the semi-skilled and casual labour and especially labour intensive activities, this is not so when it comes to ownership. In none of the countries do women own a significant ratio of agro-industries. In Tanzania, ownership of agro-industries is largely in public hands while in the other three, privately owned industries are in predominance; exception is Botswana's export abattoir which is under public ownership.

Due to limited opportunities in the existing agro-industries in the four countries, the bulk of women have sought relief in the informal sector where conditions under which they operate are poor and the income from these activities is meager. The varied activities they undertake have much easier conditions to meet including small capitalization, location and marketing requirements.

Factors Hindering and/or Facilitating Women's Participation in Agro-industries

There are few factors common to all four countries which have influenced women's participation in agro-industries. The social and traditional attitudes towards women's employment outside the home and the conceived notions of what jobs are most "suited" to women all survive with ease. In all cases, women are

least considered for decision making, managerial and technical level jobs. In all four countries the relatively low educational achievements of women in technical fields has inevitably resulted in limited women's participation in these industries.

In addition, both economical and political factors have had different bearing for each country and have directly and indirectly affected women's increased participation. In Zimbabwe for instance, the political environment that existed in the country for a long time created a lag in women's education and overall advancement. Due to the geo-political existence of Lesotho and Botswana with an economically powerful neighbour state the RSA, the development of strong competitive agro-industries in these states have been compromised. In the case of Tanzania, the deteriorating economic conditions have slowed down the growth in most of the agro-industries, thus, leading to a slowing down of the potential progress women could have made had the economy progressed.

Current Trends

There is a general awareness in all four countries of the importance of mobilizing women into effective participation in various aspects of the economy. All four countries have responded to international forums calling for the establishment of national machineries to monitor and coordinate women's activities. Certain legislations reducing discrimination tendencies in recruitments have been enacted although in all cases, women need to be educated more in their rights. In Lesotho, there is still a need to have legislation that ensures married women's rights to property ownership while in others where these legislation exist, implementation rate is so low that in effect, women remain without the benefits.

International institutions are joining hands with the national machineries to increase women's economic participation. Lack of coordination among them have previously reduced their effectiveness and created in some cases unnecessary duplication of efforts as is the case in Zimbabwe and Lesotho which will hopefully be corrected shortly.

Broad Areas Calling for Action

In all the countries women are far from enjoying the rights and benefits taken for granted elsewhere. The reasons are not always malice on the part of men or those in authority but include ignorance of options. It therefore follows that all four countries need to carry out further work to overcome a variety of constraints. One approach is to proceed responding to the challenge under three broad areas outlined below:

a) Research is needed in all four countries to determine the exact bottle-neck in women's increased participation and proposals to deal with each of them individually.

b) At the national levels there is need to ensure developments of agro-industries by developing the resource base and necessary infrastructure. Emphasis should be put in building up necessary skills by increasing training facilities and ensureing women are beneficiaries.

c) International institutions have a great role to play in providing necessary resources to develop capabilities, and also provide technical know hows for a variety of needs.

PART II

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES IN BOTSWANA AND MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING SUCH ROLE

A. INTRODUCTION

The female population in Botswana has always exceeded that of males by the ratio of 89 males to 100 females. 1/ The imbalance is greatest in the most productive years between the 15-45 age group for the obvious reason that Botswana is one of the labour exporting countries in Southern Africa. The labour survey census of 1985 indicated that women in Botswana constituted 56.5 per cent of the traditional farmers in the informal sector and 36.5 per cent of the traditional farmers in the informal sector and 36.5 per cent female in the formal sector. Thus, agriculture offers livelihood to a great number of people in Botswana both female and male. The people living in rural areas was estimated to be 83 per cent of the population in 1981. However, agriculture's contribution to GDP has been falling from 33.7 per cent in 1973/74 to 10 per cent in 1981/82 owing to the arid conditions, the unreliable rainfall and the intermitent droughts that has reduced the small arable agricultural production to such low levels as to warrant food aid.

Manufacturing which accounted for 9.4 per cent of GDP in 1981/82 employed 8.7 per cent in 1983 and 32.5 per cent of these were female.

It is against the background outlined above that in this study, the extent of women's involvement in agro-industries is analyzed with a view to determining to what extent their special problems can be dealt with. In addition, the development of the industrial sector and agro-industries in particular depends on full utilization of the country's labour force and entrepreneural capabilities. The contribution of women to this sub-sector besides being a human rights issue is a central issue of major economic and social consequences.

B. EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES

1. Food-Processing Industries

Formal sector employment constitutes about 123,500 people of which 30 per cent are females. Manufacturing alone accounts for merely 9.4 per cent of the paid employees in the formal sector and 24.48 per cent of these are women. Thus the manufacturing sector is still relatively small both as an employment generating sector and as a contributor to GDP. Its share of GDP was only 6.3 per cent in 1984.

1/ Central Statistics Office, Country Profile, p.13

In agro-industry, are meat and meat products industries which predominate the sector, other branches include dairy products, beverages, textiles, tanning, leather products and wooden products industries. In addition to the large and medium-sized firms, small-scale firms bordering on the informal sector knownas village industries are becoming very significant and account for 10 per cent of the manufacturing value added.

(a) Meat and Meat Products

The meat and meat products branch is dominated by the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC) a parastatal body with an expansive export abattoir at Lobatse and a relatively new abattoir with a canning plant in Maun. BMC accounted for a third of gross product in the manufacturing sector and 33 per cent of the manufacturing value added (MVA). Furthermore, meat and meat products accounted for 45.2 per cent of the manufacturing exports in 1985. 2/ The beef from BMC is mainly exported chilled to Europe and South Africa.

BMC employs about 400 people on a permanent basis. The majority of its labour force is classified either as casual labourers, on the job for a period of one to two days or seasonal employees for two to three months. Most women are classified as seasonal labourers, otherwise the women on a permanent employment basis do mostly secretarial, accountancy and data processing. Other departments with few women include the laboratory and the clinics. High ranking women in the company include two personnel administrators and two senior administrative assistants.

Most unskilled women in the factory do such jobs as sorting, meat pre-cooking, checking and labelling. There are few female retort operators which is considered a relatively skilled job. Reasons given for the low participation of women at skilled job levels is lack of qualified women for these jobs. The conditions of work which include maternity leave of 84 days, in service training, hospitalization and others are quite attractive but very few women qualify for such facilities as many are seasonal employees.

Other Food Processing

The rest of food processing occupies a relatively minor role in the manu facturing sector due to limited local resources. However milling seems to be reasonably important. There is a wheat mill run by the Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) apart from the extensive grain milling activities in the rural areas as the diet of most Botswana people constitutes maize, sorghum and millet. However, dairy products including milk and milk products are largely imported from RSA. The surplus milk in rural areas is processed in traditional forms and consumed there. Baking is another important food industry with approximately 20 bakeries in Botswana. Additional village bakeries using village technologies are popular in rural areas.

2/ UNIDO Industrial Development Review Botswana p.13 and 15

Women's participation in all these and other food processing industries is not clearly known but can only be deduced from available labour statistics which shows that of the 1,785 paid employees, food and beverage processors 809 or 45 per cent were female. These women happen to be mainly employed by the central government as opposed to the majority of men in this group who are employed by parastatal and private firms.

Another agro-processing enterprise gaining significance is the brewery industry, the Kgalahgali brewery which constitute the traditional beer brewers and small juice bottlers. This subsector has come next to meat and meat products in terms of contribution to MVA. It contributed 19.3 per cent to MVA in 1984. 3/

2. Non-Food Processing Industries

(a) Textile Industry

Botswana does not grow cotton to any substantial scale and therefore, the textile and clothing manufacturers are largely engaged in making ready made garments using imported materials. There is however one textile mill, the Everest Mills located in Francistown which produces polyester and cotton fabrics using imported yarn. The fabric made out of the mill is mainly for export. A number of large to medium sized plants are producing ready made goods for both export and and local market. There is also a good many producers throughout the country engaged in knitted products as well as making school uniforms. This latter group employs many women. Most of these units are located in Gaborone, out of 46 registered units 10 belonged to women.

Textile exports amounted to 13.4 per cent of all manufacturing exports. Increasingly, local wool is corded and spun into yarn for local and export markets which is significant in that it is a resource based product.

A typical export oriented textile manufacturer can demonstrate that women's participation is a relatively large scale enterprise in this subsector. The firm known as IMAGE is located in Gaborone and manufactures ladies high fashion dresses mainly for export to Europe, America and the neighbouring countries. Sales to local shops is very small due to price differentials between the IMAGE price tag and the RSA massively produced and relatively cheap products that flood the local shops. IMAGE has been in production for 11 years.

Employment in these firms constitute 199 people of which 170 or 85 per cent are women. Most women work on machines reportedly because they are "most careful" and "neat". The cutting division is purely male and the reason given is that it involves carrying heavy rolls but the employer also feels they provide better "continuity" as opposed to women who "might get pregnant and go away".

3/ UNIDO Industrial Development Review Series P.15

In spite of the predominance of the female work force, there are only two female supervisors although one of them is being considered for a senior level closer to management. There are however 4 male senior supervisors; one junior supervisor and 4 trainee male supervisor that makes it roughly 13 males at supervisory levels including the expatriates as opposed to the 2 female supervisors.

The company however has an impressive training programme which is extended to women outside the firm. It also encourages women to train on various machineries. Maternity leave of 84 days with 50 per cent pay is granted. Other worker's benefits include tea breaks and 10 per cent wage increments as opposed to the government prescribed 7 per cent. The future of women's employment in such textile firms and other similar export oriented firms is highly geared to foreign market demand. A drop in demand of the garments made, results in an automatic lay off of the workers.

3. Industries that Provide Inputs to Agro industries

Agricultural Machinery and Implements

The Rural Industries Promotions (RIP) is involved in identifying, adapting and promoting labour intensive technologies and processes geared to local resources. It designs, tests, produces and distributes implements. Furthermore, it provides technical training to rural Botswana to enable them to be more productive and self-sufficient. Among its successes has been the manufacture of sorghum mill/dehuller (sorghum being the stable food for rural Botswana). Through the RIP extension training programme, it is able to disseminate appropriate tools and skills in such activities as bakery, carpentary and tanning black smithery using local materials.

Other technologies that are being tried in processing is the wind driven pumps for low wind speeds and the biogas driven pump.

4. Small Scale Industries

The whole manufacturing sector in Botswana reflects a predominance of small sized manufacturing firms. Of the 319 establishments surveyed in 1984, 121 or 38 per cent employed between 11 to 50 people. The next biggest group of firms employed between 1 to 5 people and totalled 90 enterprises or 28 per cent of the manufacturing establishments. The majority of large to medium scale enterprises are based on exports as opposed to the small ones with their target for the internal market.

Women have tended to operate actively in the small scale industries both in rural and urban centres, although some of the activities are bordering on the informal sector. The type of activities that have attracted women include mainly textile enterprises and bakeries but few have ventured into tanneries as well as carpentry.

Textile enterprises produce ready made garments notably school uniforms, trousers and knitted items for local markets. The government has strongly backed up indigeneous small scale enterprises which has encouraged many people with skills to exploit the situation. Out of the 46 operational textile units registered with the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, 10 belonged to women and in the bakery branch, out of 13 units, 3 belonged to women.

The Botswana Enterprise Development Unit (BEDU) created industrial estates, one of them being at Pilane a few kilometers from Gaborone. A few women own enterprises in garment making and a tannery. One typical female owned workshop making leather goods employed 6 people, 5 women and one man, making leather goods particularly sandals, bags and belts. The range of items were limited as the owner was using only the cow hide raw material rather than the modern dyed soft leather material. Thus, her products had limited markets mainly attractive to tourists. Her marketing style was also haphazard as she tended to vend her products once a month at the main city centre in Gaborone. Otherwise traffic of shoppers to the estate is quite low.

In rural areas a few women acquire skills from the Rural Industries Innovation Centre (RIIC) which is owned and operated by the Rural Industry Promotions (RIP). They learn bakery techniques using appropriate technology stoves, carpentry and leather tanning. Products made are usually for surrounding areas.

5. Informal Sector

Botswana's relatively new urban centres have not escaped the traditional way women enter the urban trade i.e. via informal activities. One study estimated that women made up 53 per cent of the business owners in the informal sector. A number of women are spotted vending goods ranging from prepared food items to handicrafts. Many of them are not organized into any group or area of operation and therefore get marginal incomes. The other form of activity in the informal sector both in rural and urban centres is beer brewing.

II. OTHER DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Women's Employment in Agro-industries

1. Employment in Agro-industries: Main Characteristics

The government is taking a firm stand regarding employment opportunities for women to the extent that under its financial assistance programme scheme for small scale industries, women qualify for 10 per cent extra assistance. In spite of this, women's participation is still proportionately low in the modern sector agro-industries. The generally low educational qualifications have pushed many women to low skilled, low paying jobs in a number of the large to medium-scale industries in the country. This is already depicted in the two types of industries, namely

Table 1: Estimated Number of paid Citizen Employees, March 1986
Dissection of Occupational Group 'Other'

Occupation	Private & Parastatal		Local Government		Central Govt		Total		
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Personnel
Group 7/8/9 'Other'									
Production Supervisor foreman	1017	406	35	9	75	11	1127	426	353
Wood Preparation Workers, etc.	59	0	0	0	0	0	59	0	59
Spinners, Weavers Dyers etc.	122	166	0	0	0	15	133	181	311
Tanners etc.	64	0	0	0	0	0	64	0	64
Food and Beverage Processors	893	156	42	0	41	653	976	809	1785
Tailors, Sewers etc.	160	715	0	0	8	31	168	746	914
Shoemakers, leather goods makers	102	106	0	0	0	0	102	106	207
Cabinet Makers	114	0	0	0	0	0	114	0	114
Machinery Fitters etc.	1215	20	133	18	670	15	2026	53	2111

Source: Central Statistics Office, Labour Statistics Bulletin, 1986, Table 2.3

BMC and DMGE. When faced with the opportunity to operate their own enterprises, most women have tended to choose textile and bakeries all of which are closer to the domestic role of stitching and cooking. Very few think of going into carpentry. As seen in table 1, out of 311 spinners and weavers, 181 or 58 per cent were female whereas there were no female wood operators and few machinery fitters.

Women's vertical spread is limited to few categories: the secretarial and clerical services and the lower categories of skills, all of which carry relatively low earning capacities. The unskilled category in particular, only earns close to the minimum wage scale. The data on distribution of wages, indicates that the majority of women fall in the lower earning categories. 4/

The conditions of work vary with different industries but the unskilled nature of the category which most women occupy disqualifies them from most benefits. Most firms allow maternity leave benefits although not with full pay and the housing facilities are mainly reserved for high ranking officials in the companies.

2. Women's Control and Ownership of Agro-industries

Ownership of manufacturing enterprises in Botswana is divided between the foreign owned ones estimated to be 58.4 per cent, the joint ventures (operated between government and foreign firms) accounting for 26.3 per cent and those wholly-owned by Botswana nationals about 15.3 per cent. 5/ BMC accounts for the bulk of MVA as well as employment. Excluding BMC in the manufacturing sector put foreign owned firms in the lead as far as manufacturing output, MVA and employment are concerned, which was 50, 51 and 64 per cent respectively. This implies that locally owned firms are not only few but not very significant in terms of employment or output. Women have been found to own very small scale firms employing under 10 people and mainly in the informal sector.

There is no available data as to the number of women enterpreneurs but they are presumed to be very few and mainly concentrated in textiles and bakeries.

Managerial and administrative ranks are in most industries dominated by non citizen and women are particularly few at this decision-making level.

Lack of funds and difficulty in getting credits is the common out cry from most Botswana women who aspire to start their own enterprises. As many women lack the necessary business and managerial skills and have no property, they cannot qualify for loans. Women further more are not exercising much influence in agro-industries since they are not actively participating in union activities.

4/ Central Statistics Office, Labour Statistics Bulletin p. 73

5/ UNIDO Industrial Development Review Botswana, p.9

3. The Situation of Rural Women

Botswana is like all other labour exporting countries of Southern Africa, where historically the bulk of male population goes away to work in RSA mines leaving women to manage the rural life. The number of men in the mines is estimated to be 18,800 men. Botswana has an added feature however, in that the rural families have characteristically maintained three settlements, the cattle post where men and young boys spend most of their working days attending to cattle, the lands where arable cultivation is carried out by women and finally the village which form the living and social life of the family.

75 per cent of all active women in Botswana live in rural areas engaged in agricultural production. It was estimated that 48 per cent of these rural households are headed by women and 38 per cent of these women headed household families are the poorest. The farming system is distinctively divided between two types, the arable and the livestock farming. Women are mostly found doing arable farming while livestock farming is clearly a male domain. Due to harsh, semi-arid climatical conditions, agriculture is mostly subsistent with an occasional surplus that is sold. The crops produced include sorghum, maize and pulses grown around water tables, some with irrigation schemes. Horticultural gardening is being developed to a limited degree.

While division of labour in the old setting allowed for complementary roles between men and women, in modern times the burden is levied more on women. Men traditionally used to do the initial heavy work of clearing the field and participated in planting while women did the rest including weeding, bird scaring, harvesting threshing and storage. Modern times have increased male rural to urban drift in addition is the migratory factor thus increasing burden to women.

4. Activities Connected with Agro-industries

The bulk of women's labour in crop production are related to post harvesting which include, threshing, storage and marketing. The relative participation of women is indicated in table 2 where 89 per cent of threshing was done by women and women did 74 per cent of all the crop activities. Furthermore, women are extensively involved in the domestic processing of food items for family using the traditional strenuous methods.

There are a few large scale commercial farms that use hired labour and women constitute a proportion of this labour. Furthermore, government institutions and NGOs have been working with women groups in rural areas in formulating income generating activities for these women. These activities have included sewing and vegetable gardening. One on going project in particular known as the women in development project is being co-ordinated by the Institute of Adult Education.

This has involved groups of women. One in particular consisted of 27 families from southern district-Kanye that got together and embarked on community vegetable gardening. They did extensive work of fencing and damming to make the project commercially viable.

Table 2: The Percentage of time spent on agricultural activities by sex

Activities	Men	Women	Total
Crops			
Destumping	95	5	100
Land clearing	78	22	100
Ploughing	74	26	100
Planting	65	35	100
Weeding	13	87	100
Bird scaring	18	82	100
Harvesting	16	84	100
Threshing	11	89	100
Storage and selling	14	86	100
Transporting	36	64	100
Total Crop Activities:	26	74	100
Livestock			
Herding	89	11	100
Vertirinary operations	89	11	100
Moving cattle, buying/selling	93	17	100
Total Livestock Activities:	89	11	100

Source: MOA, Women's Involvement in Agriculture in Botswana

A few women in rural areas are taking advantage of Integrated Field Services (IFS) schemes under the Ministry of Commerce in collaboration with other institutions to learn and utilize such skills as bread making, leather tannery, sewing and knitting. Rural Industries Promotion, a non-profit organization funded by the government is involved in dissemination of skills of appropriate technologies to rural communities skills include book-keeping, management and technical training in various courses. After the courses, individuals are helped to start up a small business and if the projects prove viable, individuals can qualify for financial assistance programme grants to enable them get started.

5. Environment Under Which they Work

It has been noted in several literatures that despite the fact that women in Botswana do the bulk of agricultural work in rural areas, they are not provided with the necessary equipments and inputs to enable them to increase their productivity. The majority of women headed household in rural areas were found to own no drought power, thus limiting the amount of land that can be put to use. Those with drought power were finding it difficult to maintain them in good health to be fit for the ploughing season. 6/ When it comes to harvesting and threshing, many rural families still use the traditional methods even if modern labour saving techniques are there, due to costs involved which are beyond an ordinary poor small scale farmer. Poor storage methods also render great loss to the produce.

III. FACTORS HINDERING AND/OR FACILITATING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES

A. Social and Cultural Attitudes

Botswana, like many other African countries, still holds to its traditions which uphold men's superiority over women. This looms great not only among the traditional societies in rural areas but also in the modern sector. Consequently, representation of women at the administrative and high decision making levels in the government, the private sector and in modern agro-industries in particular is very low. Cultural attitudes are reflected in the division of labour where the more remunerative farming activity of cattle is exclusively male domain while women are designated to the non-monetary arable farming. Cultural living styles have also tended to leave women in villages taking care of children and the subsistence sector while men migrate to the mines, to towns or to cattle post for wage employment. Thus social and cultural segregation have deprived women of opportunities to acquire skills and sufficient education to be able to compete in modern sector employment.

Women who have acquired necessary professions and skills to get employment are facing the pressures of work and the demands of the traditional role of being solely responsible for the children, the elderly and the sick.

6/ Moto T. Rural Needs in perspective p. 15

B. Education

Education has long been considered the key element in determining one's opportunities in the modern economies. Deficiency in this condemns many to absolute poverty and for women this deficiency seems to drag a whole generation of their young as well since as her charges she has to cater for their nutritional balances as well as health needs.

Girls' enrollment at primary levels have consistently been higher than the boys for a ten year period between 1974 to 1983. On the average, the girls constituted 55 per cent of the total pupil enrolled in primary schools. Table 3. However at higher education from the upper secondary level to university this ratio is reversed. Women are usually in the minority. According to the available data, while in Form III the girls enrollment ratio to boys was 51 per cent in Form V it dropped to 39 per cent. The common reason given for the girls' drop out rates at higher levels is due to pregnancy. Thus female students constituted 42 per cent at the University in 1983. Failure to achieve secondary school diplomas and higher education has limited many women of opportunities to compete for better paying jobs in modern sector industries.

The other consideration with regards to education relates to the choice of the subjects at the senior secondary leaving certificate level and eventually the type of profession girls prepare for. A high proportion of girls have been observed to choose arts and domestic science courses and fewer opt for science stream courses.

Table 3: Girls as a proportion of the total enrollment in primary schools 1974-83

Year	Total Enrollment	Female Enrollment	% Female
1974	103 711	56 613	55
1975	116 293	63 949	55
1976	125 588	69 205	55
1977	137 290	75 655	55
1978	145 459	80 248	55
1979	156 664	86 207	55
1980	171 914	93 803	55
1981	176 107	96 132	55
1982	187 061	101 013	54
1983	198 328	105 735	53

Source: Education Statistics - 1983
Central Statistics Office

Table 4: Girls as a proportion of total enrollment of students in form III and form V (Govt. and aided schools only) 1974-1983

Year	Total Enrollment	Female Enrollment	% Female	Total Enrollment	Female Enrollment	% Female
1974	1 650	791	47	531	212	40
1975	1 694	785	46	703	278	40
1976	2 206	1 141	51	867	335	38
1977	2 566	1 322	52	857	306	35
1978	2 650	1 424	54	1 043	415	40
1979	2 733	1 486	53	1 174	453	39
1980	3 072	1 663	54	1 253	489	39
1981	3 393	1 833	54	1 484	611	41
1982	3 600	1 934	53	1 513	631	41
1983	3 632	1 928	53	1 504	630	42

Source: Education statistics 1983 Central Statistics Office

This has created a girls' bias towards certain fields including teaching, secretarial and nursing. These professions although useful to the nation fall in the low wage category, and bring women's average earnings to lower levels compared to the men's wages.

Girls education in rural areas suffers because of social obligations expected of girls. Girls have many domestic chores as well as taking care of young siblings all of which leave little energy and interest to concentrate on their studies.

Formal educational facilities are now widespread in rural areas where two years ago the majority of girls had no access to secondary schools in close proximity.

C. Economic Forces

Women's participation in agro-industries have been limited due to the prevalent economic situation in the country affecting these industries. Botswana's economy though one of the fastest growing in sub-saharan Africa still faces many of the problems characteristic of other African countries. The country lacks diversity relying only on a few range of products. Mining is the highest contributor to GDP as well as the highest export earner. In 1981/82 mining alone accounted for 17.3 per cent of GDP and contributed 71.9 per cent of the export earnings in 1984.

Agriculture and manufacturing are both very small in terms of their contribution to GDP. Agricultural production beside having a limited range of products has been declining due to recurrent drought situation. Agro-industrial production consequently has limited resource base being dominated by the beef industry. Other branches are significantly small. A decline in agricultural production which supports the bulk of the rural population has meant increased poverty among these people. Lack of a strong resource link with the local resource base in agriculture reduces the extent to which the bulk of the population in rural area can participate in agro-industry.

1. Location of Agro-industries: The majority of agro-processing industries are concentrated in the few urban centres, along the railway line in the south-eastern part of the country where population densities and physical infrastructures are located. The main centres with industries are Gaborone, Francistown and Lobatse. Although there has been a deliberate effort to create industries in rural areas, the infrastructure is still under developed and the few agro-industries operating there are on very small scale bordering on the informal sector.

2. Employment in Agro-industries. Employment in the whole manufacturing sector in Botswana is very small accounting for only 9 per cent of the total formal employment. Of this sector, meat and meat products industry accounts for the half of the employees. The other important sub-sector in terms of employment, is textile clothing and breweries. Other agro-industries employ very few people the majority of firms have employees of 50-100 people. The data on ratio of women to men employed in agro-industries is not readily available but the few industries already sighted, the BMC and textiles have relatively few women workers. The highest potential for female employment would be in the textile industry but the existing firms have low employment capacities.

The main characteristic of women's employment in agro-industries so far seems to be that many women with low formal education are entering these few agro-industries at low levels, some accepting the casual or seasonal catecories. Their wages and conditions of work are consequently poor. The only exception are those women with qualification in commercial subjects who are readily absorbed at higher levels.

3. Entrepreneurship: Though being encouraged among women by the many institutions, has yet to make significant impact particularly in regards to large scale enterprises. A number of women who have established themselves are in the informal sector are mainly in the textile garment making and trade while a few are in the bakeries. Women's entrepreneurship is handicapped because of lack of easy access to funds as women cannot qualify to borrow from financial institutions for lack of collateral. Traditionally women don't own valuable assets like cattle or land which financial institutions can accept.

Most women are not trained in business management and accountancy, so they lack the confidence to embark on relatively large scale enterprises prefering to remain in the informal sector where they generate very little income and where expansion is quite limited.

Women entrepreneurs, possibly due to lack of knowledge of the scope of opportunities tend to concentrate in certain areas of manufacturing like baking and sewing. These areas lack sufficient markets and face stiff competition from the relatively cheap massively produced items from RSA. Furthermore many of these agro-industries depend on imported raw materials mainly from RSA which are not only expensive but prone to discontinuity.

4. Extension and Promotion Services

Following the Presidential Commission on the recommendation on economic opportunities published in 1982, great emphasis has been placed on effective ways of increasing employment and of increased nationals to economic development. The government felt that providing incentives, improvement of the extension system, project identification and financial assistance for new enterprise establishment will maximize these objectives. An effective institutional framework to facilitate the implementation of these objectives is already in full swing. There is the Rural Industrial Officer (RIO) working under the department of Industrial Affairs in the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and posted to the district for co-ordinating activities of business extension in promoting small scale industries in rural areas. RIO is supposed to identify potential entrepreneurs at the district level. There are many problems identified with women's projects; including lack of skills in business and managerial matters. Poor physical infrastructure in rural areas also limits the extension officers' coverage, marketing problems and problems associated with domestic work also keep the women on a part time basis in business.7/

D. Institutions

Botswana does not lack institutional infrastructure for facilitating potential and existing women in agro-industries. To begin with, the creation of the Women's Affairs Unit within the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs serves as a focal point of women's issues. It is supposed to co-ordinate and provide links with different government institutions, NGOs and international organizations. It also carries out research and disseminates information regarding on economic, social and legal aspects of women. Among its achievements were a series of seminars conducted in the country during 1985, which were found by many attendants to be enlightening. The unit has also conducted various research on the legal status of women and women's income generating activities. However, due to limited funds it has not yet expanded its documentation centre.

Integrated Field Services (IFS) within the Ministry of Commerce and Industry is composed of three former institutions the Botswana Enterprises Development Unit (BEDU), Business Advisory Services (BAS) and the Rural Industrial Officers (RIO). The Integrated Unit, IFS continues to offer services which individual original institutions were offering, including subsidized service workshops, management and technical expertise, working capital and bulk buying facilities, management and book-keeping training. Finally, extension services is provided by the RIO extension officers. RIO administers the small-scale industries Financial Assistance Programme (FAP) whereby funds in the form of subsidy are channelled to identified entrepreneurs in rural areas. The scheme has exclusive incentives for location of women projects, whereby women can receive as much as 80 per cent of the total investment in grants. The problem with the IFS programme is in the scarcity of trained staff to reach the majority of women who need them.

Other institutions that are aimed at helping women in self employment, include the Brigades within the Ministry of Education. This offers vocational training to young people mainly school leavers the objective of guiding them into

7/ Institute of Adult Education, Women's Community Projects in Botswana p.15

self employment. Skills like carpentry, auto mechanics and various mechanics and various machine repairs are offered but many women tend to avoid such skills, opting for textiles. The Institute of Adult Education at the University of Botswana has been working with various women groups in rural areas to enable them to achieve economic independence.

Several other non-governmental and international agencies are involved in various levels of training, funding and promoting business enterprises in urban and rural areas, for a complete list refer to the Melchiori report. 3/

Labour Unions: in Botswana, women are not yet highly unionized and they generally avoid leadership or active roles in the present union. However, in co-operative unions' activities women tend to be active and in most cases financial grants from donors and government institutions have encouraged formation of co-operatives before grants are extended.

E. Policies and Legislations

The law regards anyone attaining the age of 21 as adult who can manage their own affairs without parental consent or assistance. However, a married woman is governed by the marital powers which are vested in the husband. Thus married women are dependent on their husbands and cannot individually enter contracts or borrow money without the husbands' consent. Denying married women self determination obviously has negative aspects as far as investing in business is concerned.

Working women are entitled to six weeks maternity leave with 25 per cent of the basic salary.

There is a provision for minimum wage which is useful, particularly for women in low levels of employment.

IV. CURRENT TRENDS AND CONCLUSIONS ON WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES

A. Trends

1. At the International and Subregional Levels

Strategies for the advancement of women in development that have been advanced at the international forums like the Arusha Forward Looking Strategies and the Nairobi World Conference have all helped in forging and focusing women's concerns internationally. Consequently, there is visible effort from the international and non-governmental organizations in working jointly with the national machineries to promote the women's increased participation.

3/ Melchiori - Project on Entrepreneurship Development for Women in Botswana Annex 4.

Some of these programmes include the Rural Industry Innovation Centre (RIIC) which conducts training skills for rural people. Partnership for Productivity (PFP) provides training in business management and operates small loan schemes. The ILO is also promoting entrepreneurship and self employment for women in three southern African countries including Botswana. 9/

3. National Level

Based on the current development plans, the government of Botswana is focusing on employment creation and rural development both of which should have great implications for women as they comprise a major force in labour as well as in rural areas.

Manufacturing is projected to increase particularly in other sub-sectors other than abattoirs. The FAP incentive package for industrial development created in 1982 which channels funds to the private sector as subsidies for starting export or import substitution enterprises is designed to encourage potential entrepreneurs to venture into non-traditional areas like horticultural production, leather works and carpentry.

The Botswana Development Corporation (BDC) in co-operation with UNDP/UNIDO and under a cost sharing arrangement with Norway and the Barclay's Bank has a project to establish a manufacturing plant making export quality knit wear products with the intention of using mostly local raw materials from Rurakul sheep farmers in southern Botswana. It is envisaged that the 220 workers will be composed of mostly women. 10/

B. Conclusions

A great proportion of women in Botswana live in rural areas engaged in arable farming which is largely at subsistent levels. This status is likely to remain so for a long-time as the opportunities in modern sector wage employment are limited.

The manufacturing sector is still relatively small and dominated by meat and meat products. However, based on the current development plan, the sector is destined to grow especially in the other branches of manufacturing like textile, in which case women's chances of increasing their participation in the subsector are bright. It has already been noted that women are favoured in certain lines of textile manufacturing although these lines represent the low skilled categories with low renumerations. As most of the agro-industries in the country have no backward linkages with local resources and are concentrated in few urban centres,

9/ For a whole range of effort being made refer to Melchiori. Project Entrepreneur.

10/ UNIDO, Industrial Development Review Series Botswana p. 44

they have remained closed to the bulk of rural women. That's why the government effort to encourage rural industries through such incentive schemes as financial assistance and extension services for rural entrepreneurs managed by the IFS Unit is a positive step in building up entrepreneurship capabilities among women and men besides extending industrialization to the majority of population. There is urgent need for instance, to increase not only food crop production but the non-traditional agro-industries including horticultural production, and small livestock.

Institutional infrastructures and legislations intended to facilitate women's increased participation in industries exist. However, certain cultural and social attitudes deeply engrained in men and women tend to reduce the impact of these facilities. The low level of achievement in formal education by the girls due to high drop out incidents at secondary levels, reduce their competitiveness for professional jobs in modern industrial establishments. However, with the increased government support (both in funding and policy) of the national women machineries in particular, the Women Affairs Unit and other national women's groups, more women ought to overcome some of the cultural and social inhibitions. They should take advantage of the available supportive legal and economic services to increase their participation in agro-industries.

V. MEASURES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A. Research Needs

(a) There is a clear intention on part of the government and international donor agencies to promote activities that will generate employment in the rural areas. However, from their slow momentum in taking off, it has become increasingly clear that a need exists to carry out extensive planning and research to be able to establish the basic needs of the targeted group and how to best achieve these needs. Research is needed in several areas including:

(i) Detailed data on the socio-economic nature of the people;

(ii) The type of activity most suited for the area based on the infrastructural set up and the eventual impact of the activity including how many people will benefit and whether the activity has a built in horizontal and forward linkage

(iii) Most crucial are the provisions of marketing infrastructures because after all the success of any industrial venture ultimately depends on an efficient marketing network.

(b) Women and children in rural areas suffer seasonal nutritional difficiencies due to erratic rainfall and drought conditions. There is need for food technologists to devise "new" convenient food items using the indigenous staple food, items including sorghum, maize and pulses and making sure it has nutritional balances. These new food items which should be convenient and storable, should be easily processed in the rural areas thus creating more agro-processing in the area.

B. Measures that can be considered at the international level and national level include

1. International vel

(a) The main obstacle to women's increased participation has been identified as lack of educational qualifications. International agencies could facilitate this by increasing their funding for the promotion of girls education.

- Scholarships could be provided for girls to pursue higher education both within the country and outside;

- Increase training of women in various non-female skills;

- Support activities that raise women's knowledge in managerial and business skills.

(b) International agencies could help in creating a data base on women. This would embrace the whole aspect of women's employment status and training needs which will serve as an easy reference for researchers and policy makers in the country on women's issues.

2. National Level

(a) More resources are needed to enable the national machineries particularly the Women's Affairs Unit in dissemination of information and educating girls and women on the range of available opportunities in modern agro-industries and also advise them on all their legal entitlements.

(b) Considering that the projected manufacturing growth will be more in such subsectors as textiles, promotion of women's training in higher skills in this area should be encouraged to give them competitiveness in these lines of activity.

(c) More resources should be devoted to strengthening the agricultural sectoral in order to have a good base for agro-industries.

(d) Infrastructures like poor transportation systems, poor road supply and insufficient marketing network still retard many agro-industries established in rural areas. There is a need to closely monitor and correct the situation to avoid waste, loss of momentum and faith among the grassroots recipients.

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THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRO INDUSTRIES IN LESOTHO AND MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING SUCH ROLE

A. INTRODUCTION

Women in Lesotho constitute 799,000 (1986 de facto) or 55 per cent of the country's population. Over 70 per cent of these women live in rural areas engaged in agriculture. Furthermore, over 60 per cent of the rural families are headed by women for most part of the year while their male folks are away in the Republic of South African (RSA) mines. Modern sector employment absorbs a mere 7.2 per cent 1/ of the workforce and manufacturing accounts for only 6 per cent of GDP. The bulk of rural families rely on remittances from relatives working in the RSA mines as a source of income. Agriculture contributes only 8 per cent of the rural peoples' income which means that about 40 per cent of the rural families with no access to migrant remittances live in absolute poverty.

There is a need to explore how the abundant rural women can benefit from agro-industrial production and thereby increase their income as well as improve their lifestyles. For women who have acquired saleable skills in modern sector industrial establishments of which they are very few, the need is to increase their number in the managerial and decision making roles so that they effectively advance the needs of women in the sector. Lastly, there is need to encourage many women to develop entrepreneural skills to enable them set up their own agro-industries.

The challenges to these objectives are many. To Lesotho, a country with an area of 30,355 sq.km, mountainous, rugged and with only 13 per cent of its land arable. The country has limited options economically and politically. Surrounded as it is by a powerful and highly industrialized neighbour, the Republic of South Africa (RSA), it is thus forced to choose its political stand while constantly aware of the consequencies of displeasing a neighbour. Its economy is equally compromised by the realities of being surrounded by South Africa and its dictates.

The transportation system is wholly dependent on South Africa as is its trade and all other sectors. Manufacturing is perhaps the most affected by proximity to the powerful economy of RSA. Lesotho belongs to the South African Custom Union (SACU) which allows South African products to freely across the border, thus posing a stiff competition to locally manufactured goods and weakening the local manufacturing sector. Manufacturing consequently is comprised of enterprises that merely assemble or process imported raw materials.

With this background in mind, the objectives of the paper are to try and see how women's role in agro-industrial production and distribution can be increased and strengthened. To do this, the report initially establishes to what extent women are currently participating in agro-industries. It then examines the factors that are hindering or facilitating their overall participation and examines the prospects for increased involvement based on government policies and legislations. From this benchmark, attempts are made to come up with some recommendations on possible measures that can be taken to enable increased women's participation in agro-industries.

1/ 1986 figure Population Census

B. EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES

Two main parastatal bodies play a major role in the implementation of the Government Industrial Policy. These are the Lesotho National Development Corporation (LNDC) and the Basotho Enterprises Development Corporation (BEDCO). LNDC provides long-term financing including equity participation and services to medium- and long-scale industries in the urban and formal sector. BEDCO promotes small-scale Basotho owned enterprises.

Manufacturing in Lesotho contributes about 6 per cent of GDP and employed a total of 7,000 people in 1986. Of all women employed in the modern sector, 14 per cent were in manufacturing where women were twice as many as men 2/. Much of the industrial activities in the country have little backward linkages with the local raw materials. Thus all enterprises have a high concentration of foreign input, some ranging as high as 70-80 per cent 3/ of the total raw materials. The main agro-industries include the Lesotho Flour Mills, the National Abattoir and Feedlot Complex, the Basotho Fruit and Vegetable Canners, Leather and Textile Processing, Wool and Mohair Clip and the Lesotho Brewery (see partial list in Appendix 1).

1. Food Processing Industries

Food processing industries in Lesotho include the grain milling companies, fruit and vegetable canning, meat and meat-products processing, dairy products processing, bakeries and breweries.

During the Third Five Year Development Plan, the Lesotho government promoted some import substitution enterprises which included food and beverages. This correspondingly followed an expansion in these branches particularly between 1977/78 and 1982/83 both in employment as it grew from 9.6 per cent to 37.7 per cent as well as in manufacturing value added (MVA). Although on the whole the sizes of the establishments in the two branches have been large, employing more than 100 people each, they have also tended to use capital intensive technologies thus leading to high cost per job created.

Three of the LNDC sponsored firms are examined to see the extent of women's participation.

a. The Grain Milling Company

The Lesotho Flour Mills is one of the LNDC sponsored firms which was established in 1979 for milling wheat flour. It has expanded its activities to include milling maize mealie as well as packing sugar, all the produce being for domestic consumption. The plant is located in Maseru.

2/ World Bank/ODA/USAID Education and Training Sector Review, Lesotho, 1987

3/ Central Bank of Lesotho, Annual Report 1987

With a total investment of about Maloti (M) 3,908,981 for 1985/86, it is considered to be one of the most successful and largest agro-industrial enterprises in the country. Not only in the value of investment but as a major employer and contributer to value added which was estimated at M 11.8 million in 1985/86. 4/

The company purchases all the grains (maize and wheat) it can get domestically before it imports. However, local production is reported to be so low that it is crudely estimated up to 90 per cent of the grains used as input is imported.

Lesotho Flour Mills employs a high proportion of women. Of the 400 permanent employees 51 per cent are women. The majority of women are found in unskilled jobs like packing and cleaning although there are a few in the skilled categories. The highest ranking woman official holds a rank of personnel manager. Five women are in middle management, there are also two supervisors and two security officers. Secretarial staff is also dominated by women. Strenuous jobs involving lifting heavy loads and the technical jobs are done by men.

The company has only limited facilities, particularly for the low ranking employees where women predominate. These include subsidized lunches and transportation to bus stops. Since some workers including women do night shifts, they are provided with transportation to their homes. No known training facilities are available nor does the company have a day care centre. Other conditions of work including the maternity leave benefits and wages are in line with the government labour regulations.

b. Lesotho Fruit and Vegetable Canners

This is another LNDC sponsored project established in 1980. Asparagus was identified as a suitable cash crop. A favourable area Thaba Bosiu was zoned out where the crop was introduced to the farmers who were mostly women. Farmers receive a lot of inducements including extension services and guaranteed purchase of all their produce. Through a revolving fund, farmers can obtain various inputs like seedlings and fertilizers. A bore hole installed for the purpose of cleaning asparagus is meeting their domestic needs as well as irrigation purposes. Asparagus takes only three months of the cannery facilities, September to December. During these months around 400 to 450 casual workers are employed.

These temporary workers are mostly women who usually carry out low skilled jobs such as peeling, grading, branching, canning and steaming. Many of these activities require standing as there is need to continuously feed the coveyor system with steady supplies. Women need gumboots and aprons to protect themselves from so much water which the work entails and usually the company provides these. Their work include an 8 hour shift with two breaks for tea and lunch.

4/ Baffore and Associates (Pvt.) Ltd. Industrial Sector Study, Lesotho, Volume 3 Special Report, May 1987.

Other products that are canned to keep the cannery operational for a longer duration include green beans supplied from a nucleus of irrigated farms. Locally grown peaches are made into peach halves, nectar or jelly jam during February to March. On a smaller scale the company is experimenting with Rosehip 5/ jelly. While dried haricot beans locally grown with imported supplement are also canned.

Women in the cannery face a particularly insecure job status as all but eight of them are classified as casual labourers. As the company is not yet commercially viable, the opportunities of expanding the creating favourable working conditions are still slim.

c. Lesotho Brewery

This was established in 1960 as an import substitution company. It is considerably capital intensive being one of the largest firm in terms of equity and longterm loan amounting to M 2,000,000 and one time between the periods 1982/83 - 1985/86. The value added for 1986 amounted to M 8.9 million. 6/

The company is operating under licensing from South Africa and using their trade names, Black Label Alsorp and Lions. Besides beer it bottles various soft drinks. Ownership is 50 per ~~cent~~ Lesotho, 39 per cent RSA and 10 per cent European based companies. All inputs including malt and hops 7/ for beer making and syrup for soft drinks are imported.

Three hundred fulltime staff are employed in the production and service and about 100 casual labourers mainly for loading of coal from rails and shuffling it into pits.

Distribution of jobs is highly skewed towards men as indicated in the table I, with little prospect of increasing the proportion of women as expressed by one high ranking official. Much of the work involved is highly physical and very few women are attracted to it. There is, however, reported to be one woman who seems to have broken all odds and will soon qualify as a professional brewer. Another woman is training to be an electrical engineer. otherwise all technical fields are occupied by men. The beer packing section where men seem to predominate reportedly involve heavy physical work of lifting and the conditions of work are less than favourable. The few women working there are known as sighters charged with checking bottles to see if foreign bodies exist.

5/ Rosehip grows wildly throughout the Kingdom and is presumed to have a high content of vitamin C

6/ Baffoe (Pvt.) Ltd. Ibid.

7/ Hops is a type of plant used in beer making

Table 1: Sex Distribution of Workers in the Brewery

	Women	Men
Soft Drinks		
Bottling	7	11
Finance	15	4
Beer Section		
Beer Packing	14	66
Stores and Buying	7	6
Warehouse empties	4	5
Personnel	11	8
Quality Control	10	1
Sight Security	2	5
Engineering	-	all men (except one in training)
Sales and marketing section		

The conditions of work: The company offers subsidized lunches, entitlement to one case of beer or two cases of soft drinks once a month, Christmas bonuses of a month's salary to all categories, a pension scheme where the employee contributes 50 per cent and company, 50 per cent and allows maternity leave for female workers of 42 days with pay.

The highest ranking female officials are as follows: Company Secretary, Head of Quality Control (two levels from the general manager) and the Finance Management Accountant with two female assistants.

2. Non-Food Processing Industries

Non-food agro-industries include textiles, leather, wool and mohair, furniture and other wood-works. In recent years LNDC has been encouraging labour intensive export oriented companies and most of these have been in the non-food agro-industries like textiles and leather.

a. Textile Processing Industries

LNDC has, for the last 7 years, attracted a number of big export oriented textile manufacturing firms as a way of creating more employment capacities. Apart from the generous investment laws and labour at the competitive rates Lesotho enjoys a preferential access to European markets and other markets closed to South Africa. All the big industries are foreign owned largely by TSA. As Lesotho does not produce cotton, all cotton used has to be imported, although the firms utilize polyester and other synthetics as well.

The exact number of women employed in the firms and their job specifications cannot be readily established but the number is reported to be high.

Apart from the big textile establishments many small scale entrepreneurs are being promoted by the BEDCO. BEDCO has three industrial estates: Sebaboleng (Maseru), Mohale's Hock and Hlotse (Leribe). In all these, BEDCO is trying to promote local entrepreneurship. Textiles has so far been one of the enterprises that has most attracted women entrepreneurs. In one of the estates, women are producing school as well as industrial uniforms, casual and fashion wears. Prospective entrepreneurs receive skill training in drafting, pattern making, sewing as well as business management courses. Shades are also allocated at low rentals.

Out of the 256 small-scale enterprises that BEDCO has promoted since its inception, 69 have been women's projects and most of these were in textile or garment making. Lately, however, the number of women attracted to garment making enterprises have declined due to problems encountered in the marketing of their finished products as well as problems in procuring materials (fabrics).

Other BEDCO sponsored small-scale enterprises with considerable women's participation include leather products, wool and mohair plants producing woolen articles, crafts, woven rugs and carpets. Shoe manufacturers come next to textile in employment creation as it is a labour intensive industry. There were about seven shoe manufacturing firms with a total number of workers of about 890 people in 1986 (table 2). Many women are employed in these firms, although there is no sex disaggregated data to indicate their ratios.

BEDCO is promoting woodwork as well although women have not been too enthusiastic with these enterprises, hence they make up only about 30 per cent of the total workforce.

3. Industries that Provide Inputs to Agro-industries

There is no manufacturing plant for agricultural inputs. Nearly all inputs including agricultural implements, fertilizers and seeds are imported from RSA through COOP Lesotho which is the distributive agent for the country. However, there is an attempt within the Rural Development Department and with the help of such bodies as the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) to develop agro-industries based on developed models of ploughs and implements that are appropriate in mountainous areas.

Table 2: Manufacturing Sector 1986

Industry	Number of firms	Number of workers	Value added	Value added per worker
Food & Beverages	15	1 808	34 572	19 122
Textile & Garments	41	1 828	12 580	6 876
Leather	7	890	2 522	2 834
Furniture	10	192	907	4 984
Printing	4	357	2 103	5 891
Chemicals	6	206	2 868	13 970
Non-metalic Mineral products	19	444	2 594	5 842
Fabricated steel	7	192	1 222	5 844
Other	14	677	5 098	7 530
Total	123	6 584	64 357	9 775

Source: Ministry of Trade and Industry, Louise Berger, International/Saffee and Associates survey and LNDC, May 1987.

4. Informal Sector

As the demands of modern living increases and the opportunities in ware employment becomes scarce both in rural and urban markets, women in Lesotho have resorted to the informal sector. In rural areas, the most attractive type of income generating activity is beer making particularly from sorghum, an ingredient easily obtainable from the home supply or the local shops. Returns from beer is reported to be twice or triple the value added to the ingredients hence it is a popular source of income. 8/ Other agro-related activities in rural areas include sale of firewood, fermenting and grinding sorghum for sale, marketing of small livestock like pigs, chicken, ducks and marketing of eggs and vegetables.

Informal trade in agro-processed items including food and non-food in urban areas particularly Maseru is more extensive and organized by the operators than what takes in the rural areas. Some women set up their wares in a zoned area of the city designated for open market sales and each would have a stall to display her goods. Others are vendors spreading anywhere along the main street either on the pavement or in easily dismountable cardboards. The range of items they market include cooked food (cooked meat, fried fish, boiled maize, fat cakes etc.) meant for city workers during lunch hours. Fresh fruit and vegetables, clay and grass works, sheep skins and other hand crafted items are also sold.

Street vendors are faced with innumerable problems, the major ones being that they get only meagre incomes from their labours. The conditions of work are, to say the least, deplorable, considering they operate in open space and they are exposed to severe weather conditions. Most of them trek long distances to work places or pay highly for public transport. The uncertainity of the market for their goods marginalizes, their activities.

Other women generating income through the informal sector are organized in group co-operatives or associations where they produce items and market it as a group. An example of these are the group sponsored by Catholic Relief Services and CARE under the mohair spinning project. When it originally started, women were helped to get loans to purchase spinning wheels, they were provided with raw mohair to clean and spin and CARE bought all the spun yarn. However, the quality of yarn produced was of poor quality, so now they use imported mohair which they hand spin and CARE tries to link them with entrepreneurs, weavers and cloth manufactures to buy their yarn.

C. . Other Dimensions of Women's Participation

Women in Lesotho are visibly found in not only the traditional female occupations of secretaries, teachers and nurses but are cast in various roles in the modern industrial sector of the country. Their educational advantages over their male counterparts as well as the migration factor resulting in able-bodied men being pruned out, have made women more indespensable as far as running the country's economy is concerned. However, there is a striking similarity with situation obtaining elsewhere in Africa when it comes to occupying higher ranking posts in the employment hierarchy. Typically, the decision making and top managerial ranks are still male preserve.

8/ Gay J.S., Women and Development in Lesotho USAID/Maseru, 1982.

Lesotho's modern employment base is still very small representing about 65,000 9/ jobs and thus despite the high participation rate of female in the modern sector, the majority of women are and will remain for a long time in rural areas. The estimated composition or rural women was 87 per cent of all the female population. 10/ They sustain the subsistence agriculture and all related activities in the primary sector.

These two situations form the broad status of women within which different characteristics emerge.

1. Employment in Agro-industries Main Characteristics

The few industries observed the majority of women occupy the semi-skilled and unskilled type of jobs which are characterized by the monotony like packing, cleaning, peeling and which generally offer little opportunities for upgrading. Yet other women have no job security as they are classified as casual labourers notably those in the Basotho cannery.

On the basis of vertical spread, few occupy supervisory and middle-level management jobs like the personnel managers of two companies the Lesotho Mills and the cannery who were women. The administrative services including secretarial and finance still attract many women in these industries. There is a striking absence of women technicians including engineers, electricians and fitters.

Women in Lesotho tend to concentrate in those industries that are labour intensive including textiles, leather industries and canneries. Most of these industries maintain the labour prescribed wage scales, but as most women are in low categories of employment their wages are low. Ownership has little bearing to women's participation in agro-industries in Lesotho as most companies have some foreign component although those industries with government majority shares most likely promote women to higher ranks than the privately owned ones.

2. Control and Ownership of Agro-industries

The majority of agro-industrial establishments are foreign owned a few of which joint venture with the government. (see appendix 1)

Small scale agro-enterprises employing less than 10 people are common and they fall under the BEDCO sponsorship. A number of women have taken advantage of BEDCO facilities to go into particularly garment making and leather works.

Social attitudes and legal laws seem to have influenced the nature of business ownership in Lesotho. Thus, although women manage and run a number of retail shops and boutiques, they are commonly registered under husbands' names. Married

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9/ World Bank Document, Lesotho Country Economic Memorandum, May 1987.

10/ UNICEF/Lesotho Central Planning and Development Office. The Situation of Children and Women in Lesotho, Lesotho, June 1986

women are not legally entitled to get loans from the financial institutions without their husband's consent so it is more logical to leave all business titles deeds to husbands. Women's ownership is more exercised in the informal small-scale businesses and also under the co-operatives which are very common particularly in handicraft industries. The reason being that they can bypass the licensing requirements and the capitalization is low. Financing of these small activities is usually borrowing from relatives and friends or organized rotational bank schemes.

Women's organizations, religious groups and interest groups which number over 100 are involved in skill training in such fields as handicrafts, food preservation and simple managerial skills and as such provide training ground for more women in modern industrial activities.

The two national unions have each a women's wing and generally women are actively involved in their meetings and activities. However women tend to lack confidence and keep away from leadership roles.

IV. Factors Hindering and/or Facilitating Women's Participation in Agro-industries

A. Social and Cultural Attitudes

Social and cultural attitudes seem to have affected women's participation in two major ways one related to instilling confidence among women and the other in their capacity to own businesses.

Lesotho is a very traditionally patrilineal society and as such, men are overall head of household and make all decisions; women take subordinate roles carrying out instructions from men. This has continued to play a psychological influence on girls when trying to select professional lines. They tend to stick to the low keyed professions like secretarial or sales girls which lessens their competitiveness for agro-industrial jobs where specific skills are demanded.

Social and cultural attitudes very often compel women to sit back and let men run all union activities which means that their voices are not heard and their needs rarely catered for.

The country has a deed of registry act of 1968 which clearly states that "no immoveable property shall be registered in the name of a woman .... married in the community of property". 11/ This law has created a great obstacle in married women's accessibility to loans from the financial institutions as legally, they own no property.

Many women in Lesotho are increasingly over burdened by their dual role of motherhood and domestic duties as well as workers outside their home. With little sympathy from their traditionally oriented male counterpart, they miss many opportunities to advance in their work as there is usually little time allowed for activities outside the normal office hours.

11/ Seeiso G.A., "Legal constraints of women" in Recommendations for Plans Policies and Programmes for Lesotho Women, Women's Bureau, April 1986, p.47

B. Education

Women in Lesotho have over the years maintained higher literacy rates than men. Right from the primary level, enrollment of girls at all standards out-number that of boys by an average of 1 to 1.4 ratio. This trend is followed up in the secondary school levels. This is true of rural as well as urban schools.

The reason given for these imbalances is that boys of school going age spend their early years tending to livestock and are late in participating in formal education. Again boys have been tempted to drop out at adolescence to go for wage employment in the South African mines. Secondary school enrollment for boys was 13,422 as opposed to girls 20,142 or 60 per cent girls. It is after secondary education when girls perhaps due to lack of sufficient guidance and facilities, pursued varied vocations that concentrate in sex stereotyped courses notably secretarial, teaching and nursing. The proportion of female students enrolled at teacher training colleges to male for 1984 was 747 to 211.

The opportunities for women to pursue technical fields are limited as the National University of Lesotho, does not provide such fields as engineering or agriculture. These have to be pursued outside the country but in the past men have been more favoured than women as the proportion of women to men getting further education outside Lesotho was 133 women to 373 men in 1984. 12/ The problems sometimes relates to the status of female students thus married female students might not be in position to go for further studies particularly if they are the breadwinner of their families. The issue is made worse considering the discriminatory treatment regarding dependency allowance which is automatically given to men in civil service on study leave but not to women unless they prove they are the breadwinner. 13/

Lesotho has a number of non-formal training arrangements through various ministries and institutions. The Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre (LDTC) is one of those that conducts correspondence courses to students of all ages all over the country. Junior certificate and secondary level programmes are delivered using various combinations of home study materials and radio broadcasts. Institute of Extra-Mural Studies (IEMS) of the National University of Lesotho offer a wide range of courses throughout the country including management skills and simple book-keeping. Women are major participants in these courses. Other institutions offering courses include rural farmers training centres. There are national training centres, where women's bureau in collaboration with other agencies like SIDA, ILO, UNDP conduct training courses in income generating activities in a form of out-reach training programmes. Under this programme, few women are trained and they in turn train others. One such centre is at Thabana Li-Mele where sewing, weaving, knitting and orchard gardening lessons are offered. BEDCO also conducts training skills for prospective small-scale entrepreneurs. Training facilities are seemingly many but they tend to reach only few people as the 1984 data revealed only a total of 1,168 men and women who enrolled at the technical and vocational schools. 14/

12/ Women's Bureau, [illegible] p.73

13/ Women's Bureau, p.73

14/ Central Statistics Office, Bulletin of Statistics, 1984

C. Economic Forces

Lesotho falls under the least developed countries by the UN classifications. Among the causes of its poverty is its geopolitical position with RSA whereby it acts as a labour reservoir for the South African economy. Thus, its agricultural resources and industries are under developed even though the bulk of population live in rural areas. Rural population have for years relied more on migrant remittances and neglected farming operations. This, together with the scarcity of arable land have contributed to poor agricultural production. Consequently many agro-industries have little backward linkages as they generally depend on imported raw materials. Even the few products locally produced like hides and skins, wool and mohair have their primary processing in the RSA for lack of technologies and skills. Thus , agro-industries in Lesotho can hardly compete with those in RSA. Lack of backward linkages, moreover, reduce the prospects for expansion in the sector. The import substitution industries that the government promoted in the mid-seventies are mainly capital intensive and the ones being established lately although to some extent labour intensive, like textiles, are largely foreign owned and "foot loose" in nature. They provide very limited transferable skills.

The location of agro-industries concentrated as they are in the few urban centres namely; Maseru, Maputsoe and Thetsane with Maseru accounting for over half of the enterprises, mean that very limited workforce can participate in them. There has been little attempt to decentralize agro-industries as the rural physical infrastructures are still under developed.

Women are handicapped by their lack of technical skills in fields like engineering and electricity which render an employee with higher remuneration. Since ownership in agro-industries is concentrated in foreign hands there is little control over the conditions of work provided or the question of promotion.

Economic forces have forced many women who cannot find employment in the formal sector into operating in the informal sector where their activities are usually marginal, getting meagre incomes and being subjected to poor working conditions. The cost of raw materials including wool and fabrics which have to be imported from RSA has limited the number of women who would be interested in operating agro-industrial ventures. This is why women's entrepreneurship is more demonstrated in retail trade where the question of quality differences is less important.

Women have furthermore limitations with getting capital to start their own enterprise as legally the majority of women cannot qualify for loans from the financial institutions. Although a number of government and non-government (NGO) institutions run courses in various skills as well as literacy courses, they have tended to concentrate on marginal activities like sewing, knitting and less on activities related to agricultural enterprises like improved farming methods or appropriate processing technologies. These institutions are furthermore, constrained with shortages of staff and funds. The Women's Bureau is trying to co-ordinate all activities affecting women in Lesotho but it lacks data. Very few statistical tables compiled under the Central Statistics Office are sex disaggregated.

There are two National Labour Unions with relatively high urban women workers' participation although women's reluctance to hold leadership roles limit their effectiveness in achieving particular needs of women like day care centres and on the job skills training.

D. Policies and Legislations

Since independence, some steps have been taken to effect women's increased participation in the modern sector. On the national level, the creation of Women's Bureau in 1979 which is now within the office of the Chairman of the Military Council was a significant step in focusing women's needs and devising policies related to employment, health and education to enhance women's increased participation in the economy.

Women's Bureau's objectives are spelled out in the current five-year development plan of 1986/87 to 1990/91. Apart from the original ones of co-ordinating and monitoring, they include dissemination of information related to women's activities. Increased skills training activities are also required to improve the quality of locally produced articles so that they effectively compete with the imported goods and legislations affecting women in agro-industries.

A few legislations have been instituted to improve the legal status of the Lesotho women and facilitate her rights as a worker. These have included the maternity leave which allows her six weeks prior to confinement and six weeks prior to confinement and six weeks immediately after her confinement although payment of maternity leave is not binding or mandatory to the employer, it is merely discretionary. 15/

Formerly, all women civil servants were not pensionable but now single and unmarried women qualify for pension as long as they pass their probation period.

More legislations are needed to remove all the obstacles which are hindering women's full participation. Of particular relevancy is the law that recognizes women entitlement to property in her own right.

V. Current Trends and Conclusions on Women's Involvement in Agro-industries

A. Trends

1. Actions at International and Subregional Levels

The Arusha Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women in Africa Beyond the End of the United Nations Decade for Women organized by ECA/OAU in Arusha to preceed the World Conference on Women in 1985, provided a useful forum for each African country to prepare its stand. Among other things, the

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15/ Women's Bureau op.cit. p.80

conference spelled out the need to ensure increased participation of women in the modern industries and this to be achieved through concerted effort by all institutions at the national and international levels. A number of strategies were proposed and listed in the document. 16/

The Economic Commission for Africa for its part continues to carry out research to improve documentation on women in member countries and in particular to help in identifying the problems and needs of women in agro-industries in Lesotho.

Lesotho has a good representation of international agencies ranging from the UN agencies to other non-governmental organizations as well as bilateral agencies. All these are increasingly realizing the need to involve and work directly with women in numerous developmental projects. This is in part a result of the reality of the situation that women make up the bulk of de facto work force in rural and urban areas. Previously, women's projects tended to be very marginal involving income generating activities of little consequences such as knitting, crotchet and sewing.

None of these have increased women's appropriate skills nor contributed to her material wellbeing. Increasingly, however, international agencies are complementing national efforts by embarking on more dynamic activities with a view of enabling women generate income. These activities are being backed up by funding and training although not on a sufficient level. A list of the on-going projects gives a glimpse into these projects (Appendix 2).

2. At the National Level

As a positive gesture, the government has for the first time included women's concerns in its current fourth five-year development plan. In it, the government intends to strengthen the work of the Women's Bureau through creating another body a Commission on Women and Development to assist in communication between the grassroots and policy makers. Focus will be placed on the skill training to enable women to improve the quality of items they produce to compete with imported items. Trainers will also be periodically trained at home and abroad to keep them in touch with current trends.

Activities within the training programmes are planned to be diversified to encompass agricultural related activities like vegetable and tree growing, raising domestic animals and simple bookkeeping in addition to the popular skills of sewing and knitting. 17/

16/ ECA/OAU Arusha Strategies for Advancement of Women in Africa, June 1985.

17/ Fourth Five-Year Development Plan 1986/87 - 1990/91

The legal status of women has yet to be ideal. The continued regard of a married woman as appendages to her husband and not qualifying for a loan in her own right is a tremendous constraint on women's full participation, particularly as entrepreneurs. In the fourth five-year plan there is a plan to establish a legal section to examine all laws that discriminate against women.

B. Conclusions

The size of Lesotho's agro-industrial sector can only absorb a proportionately small workforce in the modern sector. Its lack of backward linkages to local raw material means fewer employment opportunities can be created. Furthermore, some key enterprises are capital intensive notably the brewery and cannery and others offer seasonal employment.

Under the circumstances, even though women are found to participate extensively in the few existing agro-industrial establishments, the prospects for their increased participation cannot be very bright without deliberate effort to revitalize the agricultural base and improvement of physical infrustructures. Besides, most women engaged in existing industries are found in unskilled or semi-skilled type of jobs which are vulnerable to industrial changes particularly technological displacements and retrenchments due to various industrial factors.

Most of the agro-industries are located in urban areas leaving out the bulk of women who live in rural areas. In rural areas, poor infrustructures including roads, electricity and water make it difficult to establish viable agro-industries. Consequently, most women find it easier to operate very small income generating activities that offer meagre incomes. Many potential small-scale entrepreneurs operate in the informal sector either as street vendors or beer brewers because they lack sufficient funds to expand or meet the official licensing board requirements. Moreover, there is no institutional arrangement to help these women operate economically viable units.

Women in the modern sector characteristically occupy low ranks and thus are generally found in lower wage brackets with relatively low benefits. Most companies have no training programmes or day care centres. Women working in the modern sector have to be encouraged to assume leadership roles in the unions to make their grievances more known. A few cultural and legal obstacles have to be overcome to increase women's overall participation in industries.

VI. Measures and Recommendations

Lesotho may wish to increase their research efforts and take further measures at both international and national levels as follows:

A. Research Needs

1. Study volume and effectiveness of international aid flow designed to assist women and propose mechanisms which would best optimize these resource flows including (a) best modalities for co-ordination; and (b) necessary domestic and international support institutions.

2. Study factors that hinder competitiveness in locally produced products and find mechanisms fo giving preferential treatment for women products with a view to encourage them to develop competitiveness and increase hope of real rewards from their efforts.

3. Eventually the rate and extent of male migration to RSA may decline as the threat for RSA government's intention to limit the number of recruits from the neighbouring countries like Lesotho and concentration of recruits of nationals or those from the "Bantustan" States, materialize. There is a need to conduct a study on what effects these moves are likely to have on women's current position in the economy including those areas men traditionally dominated.

B. International Level

1. The main obstacle to women's increased participation in agro-industries in Lesotho seem to be lack of certain skills particularly managerial and technical skills. International agencies could devote more funds to sponsoring women candidates to acquire such skills either within the country or if not available locally ,then outside Lesotho.

2. Women's projects are constrained by a lack of sufficient funds and insufficient physical infrustructures. International bodies could assist by identifying and materially assist in overcoming the bottleneck whether construction of proper access roads, building of village market shades or setting up communal water system. All these will relieve women in time consuming activities and lead to improved agricultural production.

3. Assist in the Women's Bureau to conduct regular short mobile courses in rural schools, churches or social centres to educate women more on possible opportunities in identifying, starting and running enterprises.

C. National Level

1. Agro-industries cannot thrive without a strong agricultural base. The Government needs to allocate more resources and to strongly campaign to increase agricultural productivity. Provision of agricultural inputs and better extension services needs to be emphasized. Proper studies on crop and animal product pricing policies should be looked into closely to determine whether they provide sufficient incentive to farmers.

2. Established industries should provide on the jot skill upgrading to enable women to acquire transferable skills for upward mobility.

3. Industries that are resource based and have high linkages within the economy like the Basotho cannery should be more aggressively and economically run and made viable in the shortest period so that they benefit the many women working there and give incentive to those providing raw materials. More agro-industries of this nature having forward and backward linkages should be promoted and consideration should be given to locate some in other areas of the country other than Maseru.

4. Many women operate in the informal sector for lack of funds and know how. (a) An institution should be created with which these women identify themselves. It would serve as a promotional and consultative body as well as provide short-term credits to these women. (b) Formal and co-ordinated linkups with large industries for rational operations should be started and strengthened to realize optimization. A possible example is the street fruit vendors working on a commission basis for big wholesalers.

5. The Women's Bureau is the focal point for all information on women's activities in Lesotho but it is constrained by lack of sufficient statistical data on women in various economic activities. The Central Statistics Office in collaboration with other ministries particularly the Ministry of Labour should regularly provide detailed, sex disaggregated data for various subsectors in the economy.

6. Women in Lesotho cannot acquire the confidence entrepreneurs must have to embark on medium- to large-scale agro-industries unless they are insured legally. All laws should be re-examined to erase any discriminatory aspects particularly those related to women's rights and property.

7. Young girls in high schools need closer guidance and supervision in course work selection to enable them overcome the culturally built in inhibitions towards certain scientific or technically oriented subjects. Incentives in the form of scholarships to girls pursuing particular fields could be encouraged. In addition, regular talks to high schools by prominent, successful women in the society should be encouraged to enable girls to get the right image.

PARTIAL LIST OF AGRO-INDUSTRIES 1

Name of company	Nationality of ownership	Products	Market	Number of employee
Lesotho Milling Co. (Pvt.Ltd.)	RSA/Lesotho	Milled maize	Lesotho	269
Lesotho Flour Mills	Lesotho	Milled wheat products	"	300
Astoria Bakery	RSA/Lesotho	Bakery products	"	160
Frozer Manufacture (Pvt. Ltd.)	Lesotho/RSA	Timber doors and windows	"	34
Kabi Leather Products	Lesotho	Footwear shops	"	19
Gatti ice cream	RSA	Milks bottling Ice cream products	"	100
Sunripe Lesotho	RSA/Lesotho	Fruit/vegetables	"	18
Moteng Weavers	RSA	Wool/Mohair Tapestry	RSA/Lesotho	32
Shortie Bakery	Lesotho	Bakery products	Lesotho	40
Kane Food Processing	Lesotho	Bottled Fruit Juices	Lesotho	114
Basotho Fruit and Canners (Pvt.Ltd.)	Lesotho	Canned Asparagus Beans & Peaches	Germany/RSA EEC/ACP/Lesotho	239
Lesotho Design (Pvt.Ltd.)	UK/RSA	Woolen. mohair rugs tapestries	USA/Lesotho RSA	280

Source: Baffoe op.cit.

Appendix 2

AGRO-PROJECTS BY VARIOUS AGENCIES

Project		
Basotho Rural Women in Development	Pilot project about 20 rural women training and creation of revolving fund	UNICEF, IEMS, IVS, MOA
Lesotho Handspun Mohair	Training and Employment of Rural Women in Spinning Mohair which is marketed by LHM in Maseru, LHM provides supplies to women about 1,000 women	CARE Government of Germany, Canada, Norway, Netherlands
BEDCO	No explicit policy for women assistance	Currently 34% loan beneficially women engaged in activities ranging in handicraft
Training for self-reliance (women) National Training	Training for skills and income-generating and improvement in quality of life at Thabana-Li-Mele currently expanding and involved in outreach training programmes. Train women who in turn train others.	
Oil Seed Promotion	Individual mothers encouraged to plant oil seed which will be processed at Centres and oil and cakes returned to them 5,000 mothers participate.	Catholic Relief Service

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PART IV

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES IN TANZANIA AND MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING SUCH ROLE

I. INTRODUCTION

Agriculture is the backbone of the Tanzanian economy contributing 40 per cent of GDP and accounting for 83 per cent of the country's labour force. Women play a significant role in this industry as they constitute over 50 per cent of the population and 80 per cent of all women in Tanzania who live in rural areas are engaged in agricultural production.

Since independence, national development plans, policies and strategies have been geared towards effective industrialization. To this end, the long-term industrialization strategy 1975 to 1995 known as the "Basic Industrial Strategy" was perceived during the preparationof Third Five-Year Plan (1976-1981). Its main objective was to focus on those industries producing goods for the basic needs of the people, utilizing as much as possible the local resources. The main component of these industries were agro-based including food processing, textiles, clothing and leather products. The strategy included the processing of local raw materials for domestic market as well as for export.1/

Agro-industries have consequently been accounting for the large proportion of modern sector employment. In spite of the tremendous expansion both in the number of industries, output and employment, Tanzanian women continue to constitute a very small proportion of the industrial labour force. This is only 9 per cent of the total labour force in the industrial employment. 2/

This report tries to establish the extent of women's participation in agro-industries. It analyzes the factors hindering or facilitating their participation and proposes measures that could be taken to increase women's participation in these industries and thereby contribute to overall optimal utilization of resources for development.

1/ UNIDO, United Republic of Tanzania, 1982 p.7

2/ ECA/ATRCW, Women and Industrial Development Decade for Africa, p. 160

II. EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES

Tanzania has a relatively wide range of agricultural products. The food crops include maize, sorghum, rice, millet, bananas, cassava and wheat, while cash crops include cotton, coffee, sisal, tea, cashewnuts, pyrethrum, tobacco, sugar, oil seeds, for mainland Tanzania and cloves and coconut for Zanzibar and Pemba. Agro-food products based on live stock and fisheries products as well as non-food products including forestry products are widespread.

The extent of processing done domestically varies from product to product although all of them need to undergo the very basic processing involving cleaning and sorting which usually take place at the farm. Cash crops including coffee, cotton and sisal undergo certain degrees of processing within the country before being exported. A small proportion is processed to finished form in Tanzania either for export in this form or for domestic consumption.

1. Food processing industries

Food processing is significant in the manufacturing sector as it runs fifth in importance and contributed 9.1 per cent to GDP in 1980. 3/ In employment, food processing is second to textile having engaged a total of 16,442 as opposed to 31,014 for textile industries in 1981. 4/

One of the leading branches in the sub-sector is grain milling which is dominated by many small units and a parastatal organization known as, the National Food Corporation (NFCO). Unfortunately details on the number of women in the milling companies is unknown but what is known is that, milling companies generally use capital intensive technology and therefore are less likely to absorb many women particularly at the production line. Most milling companies are concentrated around Dar-es-Salaam, however, there are a few units owned by village co-operatives in the rural areas, in addition to the privately owned ones.

In the case of tea processing and sugar refinery, women constitute a significant ratio. In these two products, women have been traditionally hired out as casual labourers 5/ at harvest time and the trend still continues.

Cashewnut used to be one of the dominant cash crop before independence and the early seventies. However, for the past years, production has been declining due to poor husbandry as a response to low producer prices. Cashew processing is mainly found in Dar-es-Salaam and in the Southern part of the country notably Lindi and Mtwara. A survey done on women in one of the cashewnut factories, Tanita, reveals the nature of involvement. Out of 1,260 employees, 900 were women. This high concentration of women was attributed to the level and nature of work as many of them were mostly unskilled. While women were mainly shelling, grading and packing nuts, men were in storage, washing and roasting sections. 6/

3/ Ministry of Planning, Economic Survey

4/ UNIDO, The Potential for Resource Based Industrial Development United Republic of Tanzania, p.39

5/ ILO/JASPA, Women's Employment Patterns. The Case of Tanzania,

6/ Swantz: Women in Development, a Creative Role Denied, p.133

2. Non-Food Processing Industry

a. Textile

Tanzania is a cotton growing country ranking fourth in Africa in cotton production. Thus, it is no surprise that the country has developed a strong textile manufacturing industry, which accounted for 17.8 per cent 7/ of the GDP and employed 30,023 people in 1980. 8/

The bulk of textile milling is handled by the Tanzania Textile Corporation (TEXCO), a parastatal body under the Ministry of Industry. TEXCO controls 80-85 per cent of the total textile production in the country and exports 20 per cent of its production mainly to SEC countries. The rest of textile processing is done by the small private mill operators.

From the onset of the Arusha Declaration (1967), there has been a deliberate policy to set up a mill in each region to spread the benefit of industrialization including physical infrastructures like roads, electricity and water as well as generation of employment to a wider geographical area. Consequently TEXCO has 14 mills, one in each region, Mwanza, Musoma, Tabora, Mbeya, Moshi, Arusha and two in Morogoro five in Dar-es-Salaam.

Around 14 subsidiary companies fall under TEXCO juridication as listed:

(1) Friendship Textile Mill Ltd. - Manufacturing Cotton Fabrics;
(2) Kilimanjaro Textile Corporation - Manufacturing Textile Fabrics and Garments;
(3) Mwanza Textile Ltd. Manufacture Cotton Fabrics;
(4) Tanganyika Dyeing and Weaving Mills Ltd. - Manufacture Cotton Fabrics;
(5) Tanzania Bag Corporation - Manufacture Agricultural Bags;
(6) Musoma Textile Ltd. Manufacture Cotton Fabrics;
(7) Blankets Manufacturers Ltd. Manufacture Blankets;
(8) UBUNGO Garments Ltd. Making and Marketing Garments;
(9) Tabora Textile Mills Ltd. - Manufacture Cotton Yarn;
(10) Mbeya Textile Mills Ltd. Manufacture Textile Fabrics;
(11) Tanzania Packages Manufacturer - Agricultural Bags;
(12) UBUNGO Spinning Mill Ltd. Manufacture Cotton Yarn;
(13) Tanzania Sewing Thread Manufacturer Ltd. - Sewing Thread;
(14) Morogoro Polyster Textiles Ltd. Manufacture of Polyester Blended Fabrics.

The Corporation is run on a commercial basis and is headed by the Board of Directors appointed by the Government. Under the authority of managing team composed of the General Managing Director, Director of Planning and Financial Director of Monitoring and Control carry out the day to day business. With the estimated employment of 23,000 people, it is considered the leading employer in the manufacturing sector.

Women's Participation in TEXCO

TEXCO being a government parastatal is dedicated to the government policy of promoting women's advancement in its various operations. The impact is yet

to be made taking into consideration the conspicuous absence of even a single woman on its board of directors. The proportion of women in the total workforce remains very small, a common characteristic of all the manufacturing enterprises. For example, out of the 4,328 workers at the Friendship Textile Mill, 500 are female or 12 per cent of the total workforce.

Blame for the low participation of women and particularly the absence of women in higher ranks including management posts has been put on the women's educational inadequacies. Textiles is claimed to be a highly specialized industry that require scientifically oriented staff with such skills as textile technology and textile management both of which are most lacking among women potential participants.

Only few women have acquired relatively high and relevant skills and are to be found in laboratory doing textile chemistry. Middle levels like commercial managers and personnel managers have few female staff. The distribution of female employees in one of the TEXCO subsidiary company, URAFIKI gives an idea on the nature and levels of women participation. Most women workers are found in the production line which was estimated to constitute 8 per cent of female workers or 64 per cent of all the female workers in the mill. The service section was second in importance for women's labour force accounting for 34 per cent.9/

Female workers in the production section did such tasks as weaving, printing, spinning and finishing. In the service categories, were secretaries, cleaners and canteen workers. The most senior post held by a woman is that of Assistant to the Head of the Department.

Friendship Textile Mill offers a number of benefits to the workers including subsidized lunches, housing to 500 families, co-operative shops etc. The bulk of women, however, who fall under the low skilled categories do not qualify for housing.

(b) Leather Processing Industry

Leather industry is another significant agro-processing industry with great potential for providing modern sector employment opportunities as it is directly linked with abundant sources of raw materials. Tanzania has one of the largest cattle population in Africa of 13.2 million cattle, 5.9 million goats and 3.9 million sheep and ranks among the three most important exporters of cattle hides in Africa.

Leather industry includes collection of hides and skins, tannery and processing into leather products. Leather tanning industries consist of the following subsidiaries Tanzania Tanners Ltd. in Moshi (TTL). Mwanza Tanneries, Morogoro Tanneries and Leather Associated Industries (TLAI).

TLAI has experienced a number of problems that have greatly affected the performance of the whole sub-sector, including the shortage of raw material (skins and hides) caused by poor collection network and the low producer prices which encourages parallel marketing. Collection of available hides amounted to only

56 per cent 10/ in 1985.

The capacity utilization which was recorded as 54.8 per cent in 1978 dropped to 39.1 per cent in 1982 and has not yet recovered. TLAI controls two large sized factories and several small foot wear manufacturing units. One large shoe factory called Tanzania Shoe Company Ltd. (BORA) produces for the domestic market. The largest leather factory is in the Morogoro Industrial estate where leather and leather products, canvas and footwear goods are manufactured mainly for export. It has a modern lay out ranging from physical infrastructure, energy to transportation.

As the leather industry continues to suffer from low capacity utilization, employment is low. Only 5,000 people were employed in 1985 and the contribution of the sector to GDP was low at 1.3 per cent in 1980 and lower in subsequent years.

At the tannery stage conditions of work are reportedly filthy and hence has not attracted women in the production line. However, women are found in the cutting and painting stages in addition to the secretarial and service jobs.

Leather and leather products manufacturing including shoes, handbags, belts and jackets are labour intensive industries and there are many tasks which are familiar female duties like sewing, cleaning and styling. A number of women are engaged at all these stages.

(c) Sisal Processing Industries

Sisal industry is one of the oldest agricultural enterprises in the country, which used to claim a substantial portion of agricultural wage employment. It accounted for 66 per cent of the formal wage employment in plantation agriculture in 1961 and a large ratio of women used to form the bulk of casual labourers at the production stage; particularly planting, weeding, fertilizer application and seed development.

Under the industrial restructuring of 1967, sisal was reorganized to create the Tanzania Sisal Authority with five estates at Muheza Sisal Estate Co. Ltd., Korongwe Sisal Estate Co. Ltd., Mombo Sisal Estate Co. Ltd., Morogoro Sisal Estate and Kimamba Sisal Estate Co. Ltd. In addition to the estates, the authority runs a Tanzania Carpet Manufacturing Company.

Sisal Production has been falling from 200,000 tons in 1964/65 to 74,000 metric tons in 1981. The decline was caused by the falling world prices which resulted in most producers abandoning their farms and gradually laying off a number of employees. The scheme to revive the industry ran into problems including foreign exchange constraints for replacing old equipment .

10/ DP/ID/SER.B/495 United Republic of Tanzania Rehabilitation of the Leather Foot Wear and Leather Products Industry, 21 January 1985.

Currently there is a project initiated by the Ministry of Agriculture, Tanzania Sisal growers and Spinners, and the Associate Women Workers Department of National Trade Union. It is assisted by UNDP, UNIFEM and ILO to rehabilitate the six Sisal Estates and primarily directed at women (housewives, casual worker and permanent workers).

The level of participation can be illustrated by one sisal estate. The Kikwetu Sisal Estate in Lindi has the following employment structure. 11/

	Population	Regular workers	Casual workers
Male	667	344	34
Female	210	2	56
Total	877	346	92

(d) Tobacco Processing

Processing of Tobacco includes the primary curing at the farm and the grading; processing at processing plants and the making of cigarettes. There are two plants located in Morogoro and Songea for processing the cured tobacco. The Tanzania Cigarette Company (TCC) takes 40 per cent of the cured tobacco to make cigarettes for the domestic demand, the other 60 per cent of semi-processed tobacco is exported.

Cigarette making is a labour intensive process and therefore employees a number of women but again they are mainly concentrated in the packing and clerical duties.

(e) Forestry Resources and Processing

About 95 per cent of all wood utilized in the country goes to fuelwood, most of which is outside the monetary economy. 12/ Involvement of women in fuelwood processing is significant. While their involvement in subsequent processing including logging, carpentry is low and restricted to less strenous clerical and service duties. Wood processing is dominated by the parastatal Tanzania Wood Industries Company (TWICO) dealing mainly in saw milling. Other wood processing industries include plywood, particle board and fibre board production, match factory, joinery fiber industries, puly and paper industries. Nearly all wood industries face problems of old and worn out machinery and inadequate supply of log.

11/ UNIFEM Project Document development of self-help capacity of women in the sisal industry.

12/ UNIDO/IS 293 United Republic of Tanzania, 10 February 1983 p.39

3. The Industries that Provide Inputs to Agro Industries

A study of agro processing industries would be incomplete without a reference to those industries that are responsible for increased production and efficiency in farming. Without sufficient or proper farming implements and chemicals, the processing industry becomes stunted.

The department of agro mechanization within the Ministry of Agriculture is responsible for planning and monitoring the manufacturing of modern farm implements in the country. Their target is to greatly reduce the drudgery in farming activities by replacing the handhoe with animal drawn weeders and planters for maize, beans and cereals. A state owned farm implement manufacturing firm known as Ubungo Farm Implements (UFI) manufactures a number of agricultural tools including crop lifters (for groundnuts and potatoes), oil processing and fruit processing machines, palm crackers, coffee processing machines, coffee pulvers, hand operated sorghum thresher, handwinower, wheel barrows, handicrafts and oxcarts.

The challenge with UFI is to enable the bulk of the population particularly women who are engaged in agricultural activities to get access to the new technologies because currently the bulk of the farming population remains with the traditional tools. In addition, UFI employs a relatively small number of women mainly in the low production jobs and the service section.

4. Small-scale Industries

Increased urbanization of women and scarcity of wage employment in the modern sector has created a situation whereby many women try to find an alternative source of income. Furthermore, women in formal employment usually find their wages too low to meet the basic necessities of feeding and clothing the family in towns which necessitates a side business to supplement their incomes.

The Tanzanian Government in an effort to promote indigenoous entrepreneurship created the Small Industries Development Organization (SIDO) in 1973. SIDO provides services to prospective entrepreneurs, which includes advisory services on how to set up their enterprises and the choice of technology, machine layout and installation and source of raw materials. Higher purchase loans to rural co operatives of machineries is another aspect of SIDO services. Through its Small Industry Consultancy and Training Programme (SICATA), which started in 1983 provides consultancies and training programmes on a continuous basis in managerial fields, book keeping, production marketing, machine maintenance and technical drawing. SIDO operates branches in each region supporting such agro-based industries as food processing, cloth and footwear making, soap making, furniture and handicraft projects. 13/

Women's groups have taken advantage of SIDO facilities including acquiring grain and rice mills, sewing machines, soap making ingredients and itic and dye imports. SIDO has helped women start baking and knitting enterprises. The extent

13/ Small Industries Development Organization (SIDO), Ten Years of SIDO, 1973-1983, December 1983.

of women's participation relative to men has been very low for a number of reasons such as the discriminatory conditions for qualifying for SIDO loans. SIDO gives priority to co-operatives or group of people and entrepreneurs must meet a substantial amount of the cost of inputs needed to start the business. Available data on small-scale entreprencurs is not sex-disaggregated but one survey in Arusha indicated that out of 304 establishments only two belonged to women. 14/ Besides, the opportunities to run small-scale enterprises are still more with the urban dwellers as indicated by the relative concentration of establishment in Dar-es-Salaam; out of 5.000 units 2,000 were located there.

III. OTHER DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

Women in modern agro-industries in Tanzania participate mainly as workers and middle-level employees and not significantly as decision makers. Since ownership of agro-industries has since independence been dominated by the public sector, women have had little opportunity to establish any sizeable enterprises. Few women however have struggled and established themselves in the informal trading and manufacturing of food and non-food items while the bulk of women are still left in the periphery of the modern sector as they continue to stay in rural areas.

A. Women's Employment in Agro-Industries: Main Characteristics

Although public take over of the large-scale agro-industrial establishments soon after independence, enabled more women to be absorbed in the public enterprises, the extent and level of participation is still not comparable to that of male counterparts. For instance, the female labour force in manufacturing rose from 5,483 to 9,564 between 1976 to 1980 but this amounted to merely 12 per cent of all labour force in that sub-sector. Thus, job availability for women in agro-industries are few.

Tanzanian women's entry into the modern sector agro-industries is a relatively new phenomena. Most large industries having had a 20 year life span, are already facing the sex stereotyped roles demonstrated elsewhere in other industries. Women are found mainly in the labour intensive type of industries namely textile, leather and food processing and the majority are low skilled or unskilled workers. Vertical labour mobility is very slow. Women in the skilled jobs are either in secretarial jobs or administrative type of work. Very few have acquired the technical capabilities to become the better paid technicians.

Conditions of work vary considerably from factory to factory but there are some standard regulations set by labour including the maternity leave benefits, the minimum wage but the rate of observation by the employers is still unsatisfactory. Most benefits however are not enjoyed by the majority of women as they accrue to higher ranking officials of which women are in minority. A day care centre run by the Friendship Textile Mill could not benefit lower ranking women living miles away from the factory whereas those who qualify for the company houses are catered for. Parastatal companies however try to offer more benefits than the private ones.

14/ Africa Training and Research Centre for Women (ECA/ATRCW). Women and Industrial Development Decade for Africa.

There is an equal pay for equal work provision but wage inequalities on the basis of sex have been noted in some studies even when account of the educational similarities were allowed. One study revealed that female clerical and secretarial staff with the same educational background (standard 7-8) received 303 shillings less than the male workers in the similar category. This happened to be true of most educational level except technical and semi-professional. 15/ One of the reasons for wage differentials was experience. Women very often fail to take advantage of the in-service training facilities due to many reasons including their dual role of work and domestic chores.

Industries that offered evening courses tended to register very few women workers. For instance, in Tanganyika Dyeing and Weaving Mill, out of 75 trainees in various courses in 1981 only 33 were women and at Tanzania Blenders out of 32 trainees only two were female in 198 . 16/

It has not been exclusively established whether public enterprises employ more women than the private one especially as most large-scale agro-interprises are publicly owned and thus remain the greatest employer in modern agro-industries. But ever since the government took over these enterprises, the number of women engaged in manufacturing sector have risen. Furthermore, women have better opportunities for competing for jobs as well as promotion in the publicly owned enterprises as these factors are largely controlled by the public service commission within which the notion of jobs equality is upheld.

B. Women's Control and Ownership of Agro-Industries

Ownership of agro-industries in Tanzania is divided between the wholly government owned enterprises, the joint government and private ventures and the wholly private owned. The government dominates in most big agro-industrial enterprises, e.g. processing food, leather and textiles. Textiles for instance is 83 per cent controlled by the public sector. 17/

Economic factors that have characterised the country for the past 20 years have not favoured much indigenous enterprises and much less for the women who remain in the minority in all the significant undertakings in the country. Women have been more active in the informal sector engaged in retail trading and simple manufacturing of food and non-food items. More opportunities have increasingly opened up for women to establish small-scale industries through SIDO, although certain criteria like meeting the 10 per cent of the cost of capital equipment, or the collateral discourages many.

15/ ILO/JASPA, Women's Employment Patterns. The Case of Tanzania, p.137

16/ ILO/JASPA, Women's Employment Patterns, p. 130

17/ UNIDO, United Republic of Tanzania, Industrial Review Series, p.37, April 1986.

To run enterprises successfully requires a great deal of managerial capabilities, women in the modern labour force have not had training nor experience in administration and management as these ranks are usually dominated by men.

Opportunities to get funding for business are also limited to only a few successful or socially well placed women. 18/ Although there are a number of institutions now which make allowances for women borrowers including SIDO, Presidential Fund, Tanzania Rural Development Bank (TRDB), they too have conditions which are at times difficult for any ordinary women to fulfill.

The existence of women's pressure groups namely the Umoja wa Wanawake a Tanzania (UWT) together with the National Labour Union, Juvata are there to look into women's interests on the national level. UWT is a women's wing of the ruling party (CCM) and therefore more identified as a political group. The tendency for grassroots people to disassociate or identify with it have been noted in a number of literature. 19/

UWT activities have involved in operating income generating ventures, mainly hotels, retail trade and restaurants. Many activities of JUWATA, tend to overlap the UWT activities. Although all working women are required to join JUWATA, very few take active part in the meetings or compete for leadership positions. Many excuse themselves on the pretext of lack of time from their household work. Others fail to appreciate the importance of being involved in union activities.

C. The Situation of the Rural Women

The bulk of women in Tanzania have traditionally lived and continue to live in rural areas engaged in agricultural activities. It was estimated that over 90 per cent of the active women in Tanzania were engaged in agriculture and only 5 per cent in wage employment in agriculture. 20/

Agriculture accounts for 50 per cent of the GDP in 1980 and more than 70 per cent of export earnings. 21/ Women's farming roles have been indicated in three areas: the small holder cultivation; the communal farming demanded by the Ujamaa Villages and the casual wage employment on large-scale commercial farms.

During the colonial period, women used to be hired out seasonally on large private farms and were assigned such tasks as plucking tea and pyrethrum, weeding, picking coffee and sorting beans. Few women continue to be hired out as labourers on state farms. At the height of rural restructuring in the early seventies, when Ujamaa Villages were embarked on, women's agricultural tasks were doubled. They had to contribute their labour to communally owned plots as well as work on the family plots.

In most rural settings, there was sexual division of labour in the family activities. Men were mainly responsible for clearing the new land while women did the rest of weeding, planting, harvesting and threshing. It has been noted

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18/ International Labour Organization (JASPA), Women's Employment Patterns Discrimination and Promotion of Equality in Africa, the Case of Tanzania,p.140

19/ See for instance ILO/JASPA. Basic needs in danger. 1982. p.143.Also Swantz.

20/ Fortmann, "Women and Tanzania Agricultural Development", p.291

21/ UNIDO/IS, 293 United Republic of Tanzania, p.39

in various literature that women in most cases do the bulk of work on the farm. Cash crop production has been traditionally regarded as man's domain but that is as far as claiming and managing the cash receipts from the crop sales is concerned; the actual work related to weeding and harvesting is woman's. Some women in Kilombero Valley have been known to be in sugar outgrowing for a local company.

Environment under which they Work

With the persistent poor performance in most sectors of the economy for the past 15 years, conditions in rural areas have also worsened. Women continue to work with labour intensive type of tools notably the handhoe which tremendously limit their productivity. Unavailability of inputs including fertilizers and pesticides have been typical. Furthermore, family labour has been reduced as school age children as well as school leavers tend to move away from the farming activities. On top of this, rural women farmers have been getting little extension service compared to the men. It has been alleged for a long time that extension agents who are mostly men tend to work with men and leave women to get second hand information from their husbands.

When it comes to marketing their produce, poor rural infrastructures including roads and storage facilities have led to reduced farm receipts. Increasingly, rural population income is too low to meet basic needs. Women are forced to embark on other income generating activities as beer brewing, petty trade in food items or charcoal.

Although land is not scarce in most agricultural zones of Tanzania, in few others like Kilimanjaro, producers are faced with land scarcity.

IV . Factors Hindering and/or Facilitating Women's Participation in Agro-industries

Tanzania has been following a socialist political and economic course since the Arusha Declaration of 1967. Within this major policy framework, equality of opportunities for all people was proclaimed thus providing the necessary legal environment to women's improved employment prospects and social advancement. Despite this, however, there remains a number of social and economic forces which have sometimes worked against achieving the desired end.

A. Social and Cultural Attitudes

The idea that women are not breadwinners or that they are not fit to lead or that their place is in the home still influences the way women are treated on the job and at home. Modern living styles are succeeding in changing some of these attitudes because of the increased demand and educational opportunities that have opened ways to varied jobs for women.

Increased opportunities in wage employment in the modern sector without changing men's attitudes has also created a burden to working women who have to fulfill the household duties in addition to employment demands. Without the modern saving gadgets or help from the family members, women cannot effectively participate in industries.

Some religious beliefs that discourage women working outside the home have created hinderances to women's increased participation. Women have missed promotion and training opportunities due to these social attitudes.

A number of women are also conditioned to a level whereby they seem to believe the status quo can continue. In some cases, the women who have made some headways have acted in ways that have been negative to the overall cause for women.

B. Education

Education is one of the key factors in determining and shaping women's positive role in the modern society. Tanzanian women with good educational backgrounds have been able to attain places of responsibility and serve as useful symbols of success for the young girls still going to schools. Most educational opportunities for women have come only after independence. Thus women have lagged behind men in educational achievements.

Since 1974, however, the Tanzania Government introduced the Universal Primary Education (UPE) which led to increased literacy rate among women. The enrollment of girls in class VII increased from 34 per cent in 1974 to 48 per cent in 1982. 22/ Major increases have been mainly in primary schools at secondary levels, there are high incidences of drop outs which is normally twice that of boys. In 1980 of the 167,765 girls enrolled in standard VI and VII, 9,528 dropped out or 8 per cent as opposed to 4 per cent of boys who dropped out over the same period. The chief reasons given for girls high drop out rates are pregnancy and marriage. It has, however, been alleged that UPE schools' standards were comparatively low and poorly equipped with educational materials. 23 /

At the University, the number of female students have been increasing from 126 in 1978/79 to 185 in 1982/83. The choice of course work for female students remains concentrated in commercial and social science lines. None in the forestry and very few in agriculture or engineering (see table 2).

Apart from formal education, there has been a strong nation wide literacy campaign since independence and women have formed the majority of participants. On the job training was also prescribed by the Prime Minister's Directives of 1974. Each employer with more than 10 staff was to administer a staff development programme. But current studies have indicated little response to this directives from the private firms compared to public institutions. 24/

22/ ILO/JASPA, Women's Employment Pattern, p. 111.
23/ Ibid, p. 106
24/ ILO/JASPA, Women's Employment Patterns, p. 131

TABLE 2: University of Dar es Salaam: Undergraduate Tanzanian Students Admissions by Course

	Males (Number)					Females (number)					Females as a Percentage of total Enrolment (%)				
	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82	1982/83
Science	79	96	82	66	94	32	66	48	56	54	29	41	37	46	27
Agriculture	60	26	25	59	64	0	17	9	8	5	11	40	26	13	7
Veterinary	-	9	13	16	17	-	2	5	3	3	-	-	28	11	15
Forestry	-	11	8	19	20	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	0	0	0
Geology	19	18	13	17	14	3	3	3	3	2	14	14	15	15	13
Engineering	134	152	158	154	163	4	6	7	8	5	3	4	4	5	3
Medicine	41	35	31	35	55	9	14	9	10	4	18	29	33	24	7
Pharmacy	13	10	9	11	26	6	11	10	7	1	13	52	53	39	4
Dentistry	-	10	11	11	16	-	3	4	5	3	-	20	27	31	19
Social Science	307	171	187	191	272	57	83	68	71	69	16	33	26	27	20
Commerce	-	96	89	78	84	-	18	25	37	45	-	-	22	32	35
Law	35	28	33	34	45	7	16	24	24	23	17	36	42	41	25
Total	690	666	670	696	870	128	244	212	233	165	15	27	24	25	16

Source: Statistical Abstract 1982: T.D. 13.

Workers with higher levels of formal education tended to benefit by the directives thus leaving out a lot of women who predominate the lower level categories.

Other educational facilities which continue to constrain girls educational achievements include the relatively few boarding schools for girls. The regional imbalances of secondary schools is also a limiting factor to some girls. Kilimanjaro, for instance, seem to have a lion's share of secondary schools in all the 20 regions. 25/ Girls education is in the final analysis, influenced by parental attitudes and indifference which is hindering their effective participation in industries.

C. Economic Forces

Tanzania has gone through tremendous economic hardships which has affected the performance of various sectors of the economy. The 1978 to 1983 period was a particularly difficult one when the world was experiencing the oil crisis, the commodity prices were down and Tanzania was waging a war with neighbouring Uganda. All these led to reduced foreign exchange earnings and increased the country's debt burden.

The importance of agriculture as a foreign exchange earner and its contribution to GDP have already been detailed. But production in most cash crops has been failing. Consequently, agro-industries have been affected directly in two ways. Raw material inputs are not enough or are worn-out and spareparts and other imported inputs cannot be easily procured. Frequent break downs of public utilities including water and electricity have in the recent years interfered with industrial production.

The bulk of agro-industries are concentrated in a few urban centres, Dar es Salaam, Arusha, Mwanza and Tanga. With the unfortunate result that only people in or near urban centres can participate.

Although women's employment in manufacturing has increased from 9 per cent in 1976 to 12 per cent in 1980, it still represents a very small proportion. Most women in industries are concentrated in unskilled types of jobs, the few in professional and middle management ranks are largely in the clerical and administrative activities. A manpower survey in 1980 indicated that while 1,584 male occupied the administrative and managerial ranks only 52 females held those ranks. Clerical and related work, however, accounted for a great proportion of the female labour force.

Textile, certain food processing and other certain labour intensive industries with a series of assembly type of jobs are finding it more convenient and economical to employ women. Women workers who are usually unskilled assume such duties as peeling, packing labelling, stiching etc., all of which are a continuation of familiar domestic activities. On several occasions, employers have been quoted as asserting "women are more suited to such tasks as they have swift fingers" or that they have more tolerance for monotonous work. The wage for such jobs is borderline to minimum wages and they do not qualify for most company benefits.

25/ ILO/JASPA, Women's Employment Patterns, p. 117

The informal sector has attracted many women either on a full or part time basis. Women in regular employment who need to supplement their meagre incomes and the unemployed women in urban and rural areas. The range of activities are varied but include simple food processing like bakery, beer brewing and tailoring. Women in this sector have lacked facilities and funds to operate economically viable units thus their activities are highly marginalized. Since they utilize family labour and resources, these inputs are usually under-valued.

SIDO is helping a number of potential women enterpreneurs although many have demonstrated a lack of managerial and business skills, leading to high failure rates of women enterprises and consequently, most lending institutions including SIDO try to encourage group or co-operative firms. Extension services and training for entrepreneurs is available through SIDO and the Ministry of Agriculture through their Mechanization Department. They have agents in their regional offices whose job is to introduce new technologies to users. However, economic problems which beset the country for the past 20 years have reduced the impact of the extension services. Agricultural inputs including fertilizers and pesticides in addition to simple implements like the handhoe have been in short supply in rural areas which has constrained the production of cash and food crops.

D. Institutions

The main national organization is Umoja Wa Wanawake wa Tanzania (UWT) established soon after independence as a women's wing of the political party. Its objectives were to unite all women's groups in the country, to promote maximum participation of women in the development processes and to oversee all women's interests. The main focus of UWT over the years seem to have been in establishing business ventures which so far has ventures which so far has included residential hotels in Dar es Salaam, lodgings, restaurants and bars in various regions. In addition they have been involved in other income generating activities like baking and tailoring. 26/ UWT reportedly lost its grip on grassroot levels to the extent that membership dues were not being collected regularly leading to financial constraints of its enterprises. UWT has helped represent women's interests on the political area and helped in the enacting of certain legislations affecting women. However, its isolation from the grassroots cannot help in mobilizing the bulk of women into increased participation in the modern sector industries.

The National Trade Union, JUWATA, in which all workers are required to join, is helping to tackle the industrial relations of the workers. However, the conspicuously low participation of women in union matters particularly meetings has been noted in several writings. There is also low representation of women on high decision levels which could lead to their needs not being catered for fully. There is reportedly one woman office bearer at the national level: she is the head of workers education. 27/ Reasons for low participation of women in union activities have included women's dual role and need to attend to domestic chores during the time of meetings and failure to appreciate the benefit of union activities to them individually.

26/ ILO/JASPA, Basic Needs in Danger, p. ...

27/ ECA/ATRCW, Women and Industrial Development Decade for Africa, p. 181

Many other institutions both government and private and non-governmental organizations are trying to facilitate women's increased participation in agro-industries. SIDO's activities have already been highlighted elsewhere in the paper. Co-operative societies have been very effective in rural areas where they have enabled women to operate such enterprises as soap making, grain mills and tailoring.

Non-governmental organizations and bilateral agencies are also working with various women groups, WAFCO, TWO and UCCC for instance and are collaborating in developing self-help capacities among women in sisal industries. Other bilateral agencies including SIDA and CIDA are involved in various skill training and managerial training of women.

D. Policies and Legislations

Legislations and policies have since independence been enacted to improve the legal status of women and facilitate their increased participation in employment:

(a) The Arusha Declaration in 1967 spearheaded the focus on individual rights and to opportunities as it proclaimed that there should be no exploitation of one another;

(b) The Marriage Act of 1971 tackled such important aspects of inheritance and succession regarding property ownership for instance each individual retains ownership of her property acquired before marriage and on separation takes it with her. Jointly owned property is also divided equally in case of separation.

(c) Minimum wage legislation ensures minimum pay to unskilled labourers;

(d) Maternity Leave Act of 1975; women are entitled to 84 days paid maternity leave. This however has been received with mixed feeling as it can work negatively on women's employment prospects particularly in the private sector.

(e) Employment ordinance Cap.366 stipulates that once a casual worker has been employed 240 days during the 12 months period, he should be reclassified as a monthly worker, but many workers continue to be erroneously classified. 28/

V. Current Trends and Conclusions in Agro industries

A. Trends

1. International and Regional Levels

Increasingly, the world is gaining a deeper appreciation of what it is that women are looking for in their overall quest for equality. It is the demonstratable action and not more pronouncements or book legislations that count. International and regional conferences like the Arusha Forward Looking Strategy for the Advancement of Women and the Nairobi World Conference have all played a significant role in focusing the woman's issue globally and thus giving impetus to national machineries to increase their effort to effect changes. These efforts have been complemented by increased resource flows to enable actions to be translated into tangible outputs.

28/ ILO/JASPA, Women's Employment Patterns. The Case of Tanzania, p.157

In spite of the economic problems the country is going through, various international agencies, UN, NGOs, bilateral and church groups have persisted in their struggle to improve women's issues. These efforts, plus more, need to be encouraged, stimulated and gifted towards well co-ordinated and targeted problem areas.

2. National Level

Women's participation in the industries in the modern sector cannot be expected to increase markedly under the prevailing bottleneck facing the sub-sector. The foreign exchange issue is still a constraining factor which has stunted most agro-industries depending on imported inputs and those in need of spare parts replacements. Furthermore, many factories experience constant closures as a result of power failure or water shortages. This has resulted in retrenchment of labour in a number of factories.

On the positive side, the government has relaxed its restrictions on private ownership and import controls which has opened avenues for potential entrepreneurs. The bulk of women however will remain handicapped because of a shortage of funds and lack of collateral to qualify for bank loans.

Extending educational opportunities to a wider population has enabled many women get access to formal educational facilities. Without the accompanying campaign to increase women's participation in on-the-job training and vocational training and with the continued girls preference for female stereotyped courses like secretarial, nursing and teaching, women will continue to be under-represented in the modern industries.

B. Conclusions

The socialist tendency which Tanzania opted for in 1967 would have perhaps worked in favour of women towards their increased participation in modern sector employment and to some extent statistical data proves it has done so. However, most of the agro-industries in the country have for the past 20 years not been performing well and in few cases there has been stagnation or even retrogression in growth. Furthermore, although Tanzania is endowed with a diversified range of agricultural products and possesses favourable physical features, relatively few products are developed on a commercial scale.

Consequently, relatively few women are employed in modern sector industries. Women constituted only 14 per cent of the manufacturing labour force in 1990. Most of those in the existing industries are found to be concentrated in the labour intensive type of industries namely, textile, leather and food processing industries occupying low skilled or unskilled jobs. Hardly any women are in the decision making level but there are women in the middle level management particularly in the administrative and service roles.

Tanzanian women in rural areas continue to be in relative poverty as their real incomes have dwindled in face of the country's economic crisis. Their farming activities are constrained due to scarcity of inputs, poor physical infrastructures and lack of appropriate technologies to relieve them from the increasing farming and domestic chores.

Very few women have developed sufficient entrepreneurial skills or confidence to operate small-scale industries let alone large industrial ventures. On the other hand, women seem to predominate the informal sectoral trading where they street vend food items, brew beer plus a number of other activities related to agro-processing.

Tanzanian women would increase their participation in agro-industries if only certain social, cultural and economic factors are improved. Negative attitudes towards women's employment and achievements interfere with women's promotion and educational opportunities. Girls who already lag behind boys in education, select subjects that keep them in sex streotyped professions and fail to venture into technical courses that would enable them to qualify for top industrial jobs.

Economic forces have also worked against women's increased participation in agro-industries. Scarcity of foreign exchange has meant reduced production in these industries most of which depend on imported inputs. Most industries are concentrated in few urban areas leaving out the bulk of women population. Women who would be interested in starting industries are restrained by a lack of financial resources. The bulk of women cannot meet the loan criteria required by financial institutions. All these factors reinforce the social and cultural context women have to free themselves from.

Pressure groups including women's organizations and unions still need to work very hard to educate women on how to apply legislations to their own benefit. Most crucially, women have to take active part in the existing and new pressure groups to effect change. Without activism, changes inevitably will come but after a long time of missed opportunities for the Tanzania women in particular. The country at large, whose development relies on full utilization of its resources to the fullest also has much to lose.

VI . Measures and Recommendations

The following research needs, measures and recommendations are suggested for considerations by appropriate authorities.

A. Research Needs

1. In response to international call for integration of women in development in general and in industrialization in particular, a number of legislations have been enacted aiming at eliminating discrimination and some policy makers are keen to contently point this out. However, there is a need to undertake periodic studies to monitor the following:

(a) How far and to what extent these legislations have been put into effect and how effectively are they practiced particularly in the private sector.

(b) There is a need to review and appraise the impact of these legislations in facilitating and advancing women's investment in agro-industries including achieving quantitative employment goals.

2. In view of limited opportunities of jobs in the modern industrial sector, focus has to be placed on promoting self-employment. Detailed case studies could be undertaken of different categories of existing successful indigenous women entrepreneurs, operating in both formal and informal sectors.

(a) To assess similarities and factors favouring their success or failures.

(b) To enlist their services in training others or creating jobs for other women. Such case studies could be issued in a text form and be available for secondary school age children to familiarize them with problems and prospects of running businesses in their respective countries.

3. Manual on all credit facilities available to women entrepreneurs both small and big should be put out in language understood by most Tanzanian ordinary women. A sample list of the women beneficiaries and their line of activity needs to be clearly illustrated and be distributed free of charge to various places frequented by women like shops, worshipping places and administrative centres.

B. International Level

1. Women are handicapped at all levels of training but particularly the informal training that would enable them achieve competitiveness in the society. International agencies could devote more resources in increasing and monitoring the training facilities available to women:

(a) Stress should be placed on skill training in non-traditional areas including carpentry, charcoal making and commercial agro-processing to enable women at grassroots level develop capabilities and thereby attain competitiveness and independence;

(b) Training courses in managerial and business skills can also be popularized among different women groups.

2. International agencies should help the women's national machinery develop data bank centres to enable all interested parties researchers, policy makers on women's activities have a central place for reference material.

3. Rural industrial ventures that prove capable of absorbing women labour force should be supported. In particular income generating projects started in rural areas should score as training ground for potential women entrepreneurs. All effort should be put initially, in planning for their success.

C. National Level

1. Research on women in the country is highly constrained for lack of easily accessable statistical data on women's employment status. National Women's Machineries like UWT should make special efforts to approach relevant ministries or institutions to collect and disseminate such data on regular basis. This data should record women levels in various sub-sectors.

2. Since lack of education is contributing to women's low participation in agro-industries particularly at the higher ranks:

(a) A campaign should be waged starting at primary and secondary education levels for girls to provide orientation programmes for the opportunities in industries and give appropriate guidance in course selection.

(b) A scholarship to girls taking science courses through to university level should be awarded.

(c) School enterprises should be created as a hobby and girls and boys encouraged to take equal participation at decision making and implementation stages.

3. There is a need to increase efforts in educating women about the laws intended to help them thereby increase that participation in the nation building. The importance of labour unions to women and the need to increase the number of women leaders in the unions and any other relevant institutions should be emphasized.

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PART V

THE ROLE OF WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES IN ZIMBABWE AND MEASURES FOR STRENGTHENING SUCH ROLE

A. INTRODUCTION

Zimbabwe has one of the most developed agro-industries sector in Africa, employing 95,122 or 10 per cent of total labour force in the modern sector in 1982.[1] Yet, women who constitute over 50 per cent of 8.9 million people, remain largely in the subsistence economy where productivity is low, modern technological back up near absent and the little agro-processing activities that goes on is carried out by the arduous traditional methods.

Modern industries offer very few job opportunities for women and when they do, they usually ensnare women of low skills and even fewer middle-level ranks. The situation has worsened because the economy has been experiencing a downturn from the boom period of 1981-82 leading to a contraction in employment capacity in the formal sector. The most affected group by these events have been women and school leavers. Consequently, women's employment in material production fell from 13 per cent in 1983 to 10 per cent in 1984 and is still falling.[2] Women in manufacturing accounted for only 6 per cent of the total number of people employed by that subsector.

Zimbabwe's government has since independence recognized the need to mobilize all its human resources into useful participation in nation building. This meant that women who up to the time of independence had been left out of the mainstream of development plans, were to be rationally and deliberately absorbed. To this end, the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs (MCDWA) was set up to monitor and co-ordinate women's activities through liaising with various ministries carrying out research to facilitate their operations.

In view of the declining opportunities in the established agro-industries operating in the urban areas and the problems encountered by potential women entrepreneurs, there is a need to assess the current situation of women's participation in agro-

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[1] United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) Industrial Development Series, Zimbabwe, December 1987, p. 19.

[2] Ministry of Manpower Planning and Social Welfare, Annual Review of Manpower, p. 34.

industries. Ways of drawing in abundant female labour now underutilized in rural areas as well as organising those in informal sector, have to be formulated. Women can be involved in fruitful agro-industrial production and distribution to help raise their living standards and thereby contribute to the economic development of the country.

This paper attempts to analyse the extent of Zimbabwe women's involvement in agro-industries using secondary sources information and information gathered while on field visits in Zimbabwe. Secondly, it attempts to identify the factors that either hinder or facilitate women's increased participation in agro-industrial production and distribution. Thirdly, it gives the current trends regarding women's involvement in agro-industries production and marketing and concludes by proposing measures and recommendations for strengthening women's participation in agro-industries.

B. EXTENT OF PARTICIPATION OF ZIMBABWE WOMEN IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES

Despite Zimbabwe's success story in industrial development, women's participation gauged by such criteria as employment levels and ownership of industrial establishment have been very low.

Zimbabwe's manufacturing sector accounts for 29 per cent of the country's GDP, perhaps emanating from government support for import substitution policies. The sector is also diversified, some of the dominant activities in the manufacturing sector include food processing, textile, clothing, tobacco, footwear and wood products. The above agro-industries accounts for 59 per cent of the employees in the industrial sector.[3]

The negative traditional attitudes towards women's roles outside the home on one hand and the restrictive colonial laws towards women on the other,[4] were a drawback on women's progress particularly before independence in 1981. These two factors have left a great dent in women's preparedness to participate in modern sector employment as they lagged in education as well as skill. The period following independence has brought about greater changes for women in terms of recognition by the policy makers for women's rights and promoting their increased participation in the country's industrial sector.

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[3] UNIDO, Zimbabwe, December 1987, p. 19.

[4] International Labour Organisation (ILO/JASPA), Women's Employment Patterns, Discriminations and Promotion of Equality Africa, the Case of Zimbabwe.

1. Food Processing Industries

Food processing industries are very significant in the manufacturing sector of Zimbabwe. The subsector accounted for 13.7 per cent of the manufacturing output in 1985. Gross output for 152 units amounted to 788,273,000 Zimbabwe dollars in 1982 and employed a total of 26,334 people.[5]

The food processing subsector is diversified and among its main products are slaughtering and processing of meat, as well as bakery products. Canning and preserving of fruit and vegetables, grain milling, chocolate and sugar confectionery and fish processing are also included.

Slaughtering and meat processing is the leading branch in terms of gross output sales accounting for 30.6 per cent of gross output in the food processing subsector and employing 23.1 per cent of the labour force in 1983. Grain milling follows with 30.4 per cent of gross output sales and accounting for 23.1 per cent of the labor force. The relative importance of other food processing branches are indicated in table 1.

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[5] Ministry of Manpower and Social Welfare Research, MISS, Vol. 3 No. 3, 1984, p. 3.

Table 1: Key Variables in Agro-Processing Industries (Current Prices) in Thousands of Dollars 1983

Sub-sector	Gross output	Labour (000)
Slaughtering and meat processing	285 564	6 218
Canning and preserving fruit, vegetables	2 795	206
Grain mill products	286 364	6 230
Bakery products	93 778	4 782
Chocolate and sugar	19 756	1 057
Dairy and other	251 786	8 468
	943 043	26 961
Beer, wine and spirits	228 520	4 701
Tobacco	130 909	6 167
Cotton	268 294	15 101
Knitted products cordage	34 909	3 565
Footwear	68 171	5 081
Saw milling, wood	51 120	5 525
Furniture, fixtures	49 874	5 194

Source: UNIDO, Zimbabwe, 1986, Annex A-3.

Ownership of food processing is largely in the hands of private companies many of which are foreign dominated. The main exception include two parastatals; the Cold Storage Commission which accounts for the bulk of cattle slaughtering, fresh, chilled and frozen meat and the Dairy Market Board which controls and markets the dairy products. Multinational companies like Nestle and Unilever handle a certain proportion of milk and edible oil products manufacturing. Other multinationals in food processing include such names as Lyons Brookes Bond Processing, meat canning and fruits and vegetables. Heinz and Dalgety Processing and canning vegetables. Anglo American and spillers in the grain industry are also other multinationals that are found in Zimbabwe.

In 1983, the National Manpower Survey Evaluation Seminar, which was devoted to women's issues produced comprehensive reports which gave, for the first time, the details on the nature and extent of women's participation in economy. The survey revealed the disproportionate nature of women's employment in not only the trained workforce, but also in the overall manufacturing sector. Over all, manufacturing women represented 8 per cent of the trained workforce in 1981 while in food processing, women constituted 13.8 per cent. The proportion of distribution in manufacturing was as follows 10 per cent in the professional, 8 per cent in skilled category and 7 per cent in the semi-skilled categories. The survey further revealed the predominance of men in the production line. The two milling companies Blue Ribbon and National Foods with the

workforce of 2,500 and 4,000 respectively employed only few women and they were mainly in clerical and administrative occupations.[6]

Data drawn from the survey reveals that the extent of women's participation in the six food companies was poor. In these companies there were very few female employees on a permanent basis. Of the six companies surveyed, only 11.7 per cent were on a permanent basis and three did not have any female permanent employees.

The canning factories were found to have the highest representation of female casual labourers though at times this is used as a gimmick to evade the labour regulation forbidding classifying a worker who works more than 6 weeks as casual labourer. Women did such familiar jobs as preparing raw materials, cleaning cans, sealing, weighing, packing and labelling.

Remuneration: The bulk of female employees are in low job categories and consequently the wages and salaries are relatively lower than those of men. Many were even deliberately kept at low scales by keeping them in lower grades when the job actually done was of higher classification.[7]

Most food companies are located in the few urban centres, Harare and Bulawayo, where the bulk of women who are in rural areas cannot participate. Harare accounts for 47.7 per cent of enterprises and accounts for 45.6 per cent of the number of people employed in the whole manufacturing sector.[8]

2. Non-Food Processing Industries

Non-food agro-industries include tobacco, cotton, textile, carpets, knitted products, footwear, wood and furniture.

Textile is the leading branch of the non-food, agro-based industries accounting for 15.6 per cent of the total manufacturing production in 1985 being dominated by cotton ginning sub-branch.[9] The textile industries which had a total of 67 units in 1982 was next to food industries in order of capital stock importance and accounted for between a quarter and fifth of the total manufacturing exports.

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[6]A. Sibanda, MISS, "Conditions of Work and Life of Women in the Food Processing Industries in Zimbabwe", p. 29.

[7]Sibanda, MISS, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 30.

[8]UNIDO, Industrial Development, Review series, Zimbabwe, 1987 p. 32.

[9]UNIDO, p. 16

(a) **Participation in Textiles**

Like all other manufacturing subsectors, textiles and clothing employ proportionately few women. No recent sex disaggregated data is available but the 1981 manpower survey shows that 10 per cent of all trained workforce were women. Most of these were found in the semi-skilled category; 1 per cent were in professional, 2.1 per cent in skilled and 6.9 per cent in the unskilled categories.[19]

The lower levels of women's participation can easily be explained by the fact that the subsector employ few workers on a casual basis where the bulk of unskilled women labour is commonly exploited. Secondly, the majority of women have historically remained in the rural areas due to the colonial restrictions and thus failed to develop certain skills needed for jobs in textile industries. This is further demonstrated in table 2 showing gender participation in selected occupations where 82 per cent of all the tailors and dressmakers were male and only 18 per cent female. Spinners and winders had 98 per cent male and 2 per cent female. What is clear is that although the figures are based on a 1983 survey, the author's quick sampling survey in 1988 revealed only marginal improvements.

(b) **Participation in Leather and Footwear**

Footwear and leather is another successful industry with high quality products. Women's participation constituted about 8 per cent of trained workforce and again most of these were in semi-skilled category as shown in the table 3.

(c) **Participation in Wood and Wood Products Including Furniture**

Wood and furniture comprised 98 units and accounted for 3.1 per cent of the gross manufacturing output employing 12,914 people in 1982. This subsector includes saw milling and wooden products; rough sawn wood, joinery, prefabs and wooden containers, crates and pallets.

It is particularly less significant as far as women's participation is concerned, as it is demonstrated by the survey that only 3 per cent of the trained workforce were women.

(d) **Tobacco Processing and Women's Participation**

Tobacco manufacturing constitutes packing and grading for export (about two-third of the output of tobacco). In addition, there is low production of cigarettes and cigars. The subsector is mostly capital intensive, although with the labour force of 6,167

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[19]MISS, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 10.

in 1983, it is still one of the biggest employers in the manufacturing sector. Female employment was a mere 5 per cent[1] and were mainly in the skilled and semi-skilled ranks.

Table 2: Manufacturing - Selected Occupations

	Total Number 1981	Sex % M	F
Industrial Engineers	88	100	-
Journalists, editors, public relations officers	529	78	22
Sawyers, plywood makers wood-processing workers	322	99	1
Chemical processors and related workers	203	100	-
Spinners and winders	1 684	98	2
Weavers and related workers	881	98	2
Grain millers and related workers	685	100	-
Bakers, pastry cooks and confectionary makers	632	98	2
Food and beverage processors	462	98	2
Tobacco preparers	674	88	12
Tailors and dressmakers	886	82	18
Sewers and embroiders	3 489	86	14
Leather goods makers	326	94	6
Woodworking machine operators	1 179	100	-
Toolmakers, metal pattern makers and metal workers	277	100	-
Machine tool operators	3 850	99	1
Jewellery and precious	399	93	7
Rubber and plastic product makers	1 362	96	4
Compositors and typesetters	1 016	93	7
Printers and related workers	442	92	8
Production managers	943	97	3

Source: NMS data.

[1] MISS, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 10.

Table 3: Trained Workforce in Manufacturing

	Professional		Skilled		Semi-skilled		Total		Total	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Female	%
Food and Beverages	1 067	127	1 833	293	7 140	509	11 146	949	10 095	8
Tobacco Products	56	3	208	17	371	14	635	34	669	5
Textiles and Clothing	660	122	1 36	106	9 851	991	12 918	1 419	14 337	10
Leather and Footwear	140	19	446	41	775	70	1 381	130	1 511	8
Wood products including furniture	175	22	1 021	41	2 613	53	3 015	116	3 910	3
Paper and paper products, printing and publishing	415	82	1 789	135	3 206	372	1 410	649	5 059	13
Chemicals, Chemical, Petroleum, Rubber, Coal and Plastic Products	629	79	1 858	215	1 460	350	8 141	680	6 827	10
Non-metalic mineral products except products of petroleum and coal	270	37	1 053	61	2 256	110	3 579	198	3 777	5
Basic Metal Industries (Iron, steel and non-ferrous)	570	42	1 082	100	6 702	146	38 354	347	8 701	4
Fabricated metal products, machinery and equipment	1 277	85	6 334	472	7 106	516	24 617	1 073	15 590	11
Other manufacturing industries(Jewellery, Musical instruments, sports goods and others not classified	120	37	378	41	1 039	97	1 587	175	1 762	10
Total Manufacturing	5 599	644	31 219	1 670	42 672	3 249	61 483	57 771	74 260	8

Source: Miss Vol. 3 No. 3, 1984, Table 5.1

3. Women in Agro-Based Production and Marketing in the Informal Sector

A number of women in both rural and urban areas found it easier to generate the badly needed cash through the activities in the informal sector where the range of activities is wide. In 1984, the Women's Affairs together with UNICEF promoted so many of these activities, throughout the country amounting to 8,237 ranging from bakery, poultry, piggery, to school uniform making and employed up to 50 people each. Their many common problems included lack of adequate planning and lack of managerial and administrative skills.[12]

II. OTHER DIMENSIONS OF WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION

A. Employment in Agro-Industries: Main Characteristics

Four main characteristics of female participation in this industry are outlined below:

Type of industry: Industries that most attract female employment are food processing and textile manufacturing related.

Role characteristics: Women are usually assigned to labour intensive assembly line type of jobs which are related to the domestic chores. These include sorting of food, peeling, handstitching and in textile, designing and quality control are popular tasks for women.

Conditions of work: Most women fall into the casual labourers category, a class that carries insecurity and holds no benefits including pension, leave or housing.

Earnings: There is a general tendency for women's wages to be lower than men in most industries.

B. Control and Ownership of Agro-Industries

Agro-industries in Zimbabwe are dominated by big foreign firms as well as the few publicly owned parastatal bodies namely the Cold Storage Board, the Dairy Marketing Board and the Cotton Marketing Board. Women's ownership in agro-industries has not been established yet other than the small-scale entrepreneurs in the informal sector. Few women have been spotted in the retail trade particularly fashion shops where they are developing managerial capabilities.

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[12] UNICEF, Characteristics of Women's Income Generating Projects. An Evaluation Project Process in six UNICEF Funded Projects of Rural Zimbabwe, Harare, 1985.

Unions in Zimbabwe are run on the industry line basis, like Clothing Workers Union and the Food Workers Union where there is a general effort on part of Union Officials to encourage more women to take active part in union activities and meetings; although many stay away from leadership roles.

In 1981 Workers' Committees were introduced with the expressed purpose of strengthening communications between workers and management. Workers with any grievances report to the committee. As the committee meetings are normally scheduled at the work place during lunch time, they have received better participation from women than the Labour Union meetings.[1]

C. The Situation of Rural Women

The majority of women in Zimbabwe have historically remained in rural areas managing small family plots of land and subsidizing the meager incomes that the men were getting from wage employment in towns, mines or big commercial farms. While colonial restrictions forced women to remain in rural areas,[2] after independence it is the question of accommodation and job scarcities that continue to keep them there. Men who move to towns for wage employment sometimes fail to provide sufficient financial allowance for the women and children left in rural areas.

Zimbabwe's agriculture is distinctly divided into two groups the commercial and communal farming. Commercial farming which occupies 50 per cent of arable land accounts for the bulk of cash crops and livestock produce and contributes to a great share of formal employment in farming sector. It is characterized by large-scale modern farms producing such crops as beef, tobacco, cotton etc. Communal farming on the other hand occupies 74 per cent of the poorer ecological zones with poor soil and poor rainfall.

The majority, over 70 per cent of the population and women in particular are crowded in these communal areas producing mainly the stable food crops including maize, sorghum, groundnut and millet. Communal farmers face many problems but the main one is the scarcity of land coupled with poor physical infrastructure.

(a) Traditional Processing of Crops

Women in rural areas continue to play an important role in processing of the food products consumed there and to a great degree are involved in the primary processing of cash crops.

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[1] F. A. Made, "Unskilled Women Workers in Zimbabwe" MIS, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1984.

[2] ILO, Women's Employment Patterns, p. 5.

Traditional processing of food items including maize, sorghum, groundnut is a strenuous activity that involves shelling, grinding all of which are done by hand. Although some grinding mills are installed around the rural areas, to many women, the distance to reach one can be half a day's walk.

Besides the food items, women have traditionally made articrafts like mats, basketry and tools that are used in the homes. In modern times, these have become income generating activities as they are sold to tourists or urban dwellers. The range of agro-based income generating activities have increased to include bakery, poultry, piggery and market gardening.

(b) Participation in Cash Crops Production

A number of women provide casual labour to commercial farms doing such tasks as weeding and harvesting. Women were found to account for 67 per cent of casual labourers in large-scale and small-scale farming between 1975-82.[15] Increased participation of communal farmers into cash crop production of such crops as cotton, maize and soybeans is involving more and more rural women and increasing their labour. They now have to ensure the production of food crops as well as cash crops, although cash crop earnings are still controlled by men.

(c) Environment in Which They Operate

Since independence, the increased extension services in rural areas and communal areas where most of women live, has brought positive results. The share of communal farmers' produce to all total output of particularly staple food-stuff including maize and groundnut has increased significantly. Increases have also been recorded in cotton deliveries from these farmers. Agricultural Technical and Extension Services (AGRITEX) of the Ministry of Agriculture has helped many groups of rural people to increase their productivity as well as receive credit facilities. Notwithstanding these efforts. Many women still lack the appropriate technology. Many miss the extension services because the agents tend to favour working with more progressive farmers.

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[15] Mwalo, M. Situation of Women in Zimbabwe, p. 31.

III. FACTORS HINDERING AND/OR FACILITATING WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES

A. Social and Cultural Attitudes

The government of Zimbabwe has since independence created a positive environment towards increasing women's active participation in all aspects of the country's development. It has enacted various legislations connected with the eradication of discriminatory tendencies between different sexes. Such acts include sex disqualification removal act, minimum wage act and industrial constitution amendment act.[16]

However, traditional and cultural attitudes that are harboured by both men and women towards women's need for work outside home still undermines their full participation in agro-industries. In the minds of many employers and planners, women's earnings are still not considered paramount but rather supplementary to family income as a man is presumed to be the breadwinner in the family despite increased incidences of female headed households.

Cultural attitudes leave all responsibilities of children and domestic chores to women with hardly any labour saving devices for the majority of women. This entails a great burden on women as increasingly they have to carry out the tedious domestic chores as well as fulfill their tasks in wage employment. Many face the danger of losing their jobs or reduced earnings in case of the self-employed as they have to tend to sick children or other odd demands of the home. It has been reported that women fail to actively participate in union activities because of these dual role of mother, wife and a worker. Disregard of this dual role by employers by failing to create suitable conditions at work notably day-care centre for infants is still hindering many women's full participation in those industries.

B. Education

Education is one key element that opens avenues for fruitful employment, and this is one area where historically women in Zimbabwe particularly black women were neglected. Facilities for education were biased towards boys and many parents also favoured educating boys to girls.[17] These historical imbalances have been responsible for keeping many women out of the better ranks in the modern agro-industries. Many are forced to keep unskilled or low-skilled jobs for lack of proper education.

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[16] ILO, Women's Employment Patterns. The Case of Zimbabwe p. 44.

[17] ILO, Womens's Employment Patterns, p. 31, Ibid, p. 32.

Since independence, the government has increased its efforts to ensure equal educational opportunities to all its citizens by introducing free though not compulsory education to all. As a result of this, enrollment of girls have tremendously increased. Enrollment of girls in 1983, for instance, more than doubled that of 1979 at all levels of primary and secondary education. More striking figures were registered at secondary school level, table 4. The proportion of female students at the university and vocational colleges have also increased,[18] although most women students are still concentrated in commerce and social arts subjects and less in technical and science courses. The drop out rate of girls in schools is another worrying factor which threatens to keep girls in lower skilled jobs in industries.

Non-formal educational opportunities have increased throughout the country. Opportunities are offered to many women who missed out for various reasons to complete or even get into formal type of education activities by the Non-formal Education of the Ministry of Education, literacy classes, correspondence education and private colleges. The Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture also Organizes Youth Brigades into doing useful projects.

Despite all these efforts, the ratio of girls to boys in all institutions continue to be low and subject choices continue to be biased towards sex stereotyped courses for lack of career guidance to most girls. Domestic chores in rural areas continue to keep away more girls than boys out of schools.

C. Economic Forces

Zimbabwe is one of the few African countries, south of the Sahara, which is in relatively good economic health. With per capita income of $680 (1985)[19] it is placed well above the average for Sub-Saharan Africa. Furthermore, the country is endowed with natural resources including minerals and arable land and can sustain a diversified economic base. However, the country has gone through traumatic political phases particularly towards the end of the colonial phase. This phase included the wars of liberation intensified by a subsequent unilateral declaration of independence (UDI) in 1965. The political insecurity has had a great impact on the rural mass and African population in particular to the extent that much of the country's wealth has not been shared by large sector of the population.

Through those years of political turmoil, women suffered doubly. Before independence, the laws regarded African women who formed the majority of female population minors, with no property

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[18] ILO, Women's Employment Patterns, p. 31, Ibid, p. 32.

[19] UNIDO review.

Table 4: School Enrolment 1979 - 1983

Enrolment stage

Year	Primary G I		Secondary F I		Secondary L VI		Teachers' Training Colleges: 1st Year		Boarding Facilities	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1979	87 044	83 046	9 745	8 612	1 431	960				
1980	190 304	186 088	12 402	9 749	1 571	1 070	345	576		
1981	219 731	231 717	49 435	34 056	1 582	959	1 085	517		
1982	195 982	203 418	57 281	42 471	1 981	1 144	1 278	915		
1983	185 805	182 524	187 541	130 855	2 487	1 193	1 535	1 193	4 212	2 872

Graduation Stage

Year	Primary G I		Secondary F I		Secondary L VI		Teachers' Training Colleges: Finalists		Boarding Facilities Secondary	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1979	47 031	35 179	1 079	962	962	375				
1980	55 364	41 735	1 081	949	1 006	407	461	454		
1981	72 763	67 917	3 852	2 672	1 175	498	427	469		
1982	84 492	64 394	9 263	6 509	1 210	121	123	548		
1983	94 163	74 608	14 078	10 431	1 954	936	1 042	690	37 692	25 497

Source: Ministry of Education

rights or even rights to live with their spouses in towns. All forms of restrictions kept them away from formal employment. Scarcity of schools in rural areas coupled with poverty made it difficult for many to gain education. Priority in education according to many fathers went to boys who were thought to be the future breadwinners. Consequently, many African women poorly equipped with education and lacking any type of skill have had to face great constraints in entering the competitive labour market even after independence when freedom and equality are extended to all. Other forces that have worked against women's increased participation include:

The Nature of Agro-Industries: Most agro-industries are capital intensive and greatly rely on imported technologies. As pressures of foreign exchange constraints have increased, some are forced to cut back employees as they lack spare parts for the plants. This retrenchment has mainly affected women who dominate the casual labourer group.

Location of the Industries: The geographical distribution of agro-industries in Zimbabwe is highly skewed towards urban centres notably the two main cities, Harare and Bulawayo. Harare accounts for 47.8 per cent of the manufacturing output and accounts for 46 per cent of the total manufacturing employment. Big firms are unwilling to open up in rural areas due to poor physical infrastructures, but the government has through Small Enterprises Development Corporation (SEDCO) started a process of decentralization. Rural industrialization is being initiated through what is known as "growth points".

Currently employment in modern agro-industrial establishment is restricted to the few urban dwellers, but since men have historically by far outnumbered women in urban areas, they dominate in these industries as well.

Some Qualitative Aspects Characterizing the Agro-Industrial Sector: Women's participation in the modern agro-industrial establishments is proportionately small. Even those industries elsewhere found to be female dominated like the textiles and food processing are in Zimbabwe dominated by men. There are historical reasons that confined women to rural areas and prevented them acquiring the necessary skills and training demanded by the modern industries. Increased immigration of women in urban areas in the recent years has forced many of them, ill-equipped with skills, to concentrate in semi-skilled and unskilled categories and a great many occupy the casual labourer categories particularly in food processing. These jobs place many women in the low wage scales with poor working conditions and dead end types of jobs that have little promotion or training prospects.

Entrepreneurship Among Women is still small. Few small-scale enterprises are being promoted by the Small-scale Enterprises

Development Corporation and the Community Development Fund where women and men can obtain credit and advisory services. The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs in conjunction with other international agencies such as UNICEF have since 1982 promoted many women's income generating activities in rural areas. These have in the past included bakeries, piggeries, school uniform making. However, many have faced problems due to lack of proper planning, lack of managerial and administrative skills and insufficient funds.[20] The programme now is under review with the objective of making it more effective.

Extension Services and Training are provided by the AGRITEX, MCDWA and NGOs, but has sometimes failed to reach the most needy women for lack of funds to purchase inputs.

Financial Limitations: Agricultural Finance Corporation (AFC) gives loans in kind to communal farmers as well as commercial farmers but sometimes women have failed to take advantage because their scale of operation is too small to qualify for loans. Loans are available to people with marketable surplus. Women however, are mostly in subsistence production. Another criteria that keep women out is the need to have a grain marketing card. Most grain marketing cards are issued in the husbands name. Most women now find it easier to raise funds through saving schemes.

D. Institutions

The government of Zimbabwe has since independence established and strengthened the national machineries in promoting the development and integration of women in development. The main co-ordinating body is the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs established in 1981.

The Ministry has successfully implemented a number of programmes geared to facilitate women's increased participation in all facets of economic activities including agro-industries. It was instrumental in changing some of the discriminatory laws against women. The Ministry in collaboration with non-governmental organizations mobilized women in rural areas and sponsored income generating projects. These projects amounted to 8,232 in 1983 and ranged between uniform making, weaving, bakeries, vegetable, gardening, poultry etc. This programme is however, now deemed too ambitious as many of these projects have failed for a number of reasons including the smallness of groups.

Various institutions exist which could facilitate women's increased participation in economic activities and in agro-industries in particular. Some fail to be effective because women

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[20] UNICEF, Characteristics of Income Generating Projects. Evaluation Project, Zimbabwe, 1985.

themselves fail to take full advantage of these services while others fail to reach the bulk of the female population due to scarcity of necessary resources input both financial as well as human. These institutions include:

Labour Unions: The Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) is an umbrella organization [illegible] which are mostly organized by industry. Women in various agro-industries face a number of work related problems including absence or lack of paid maternity leave and lay off [illegible] through taking active membership and leadership roles in the union activities that women could effect changes in their favour. So far, indications are that women tend to participate less actively due to a number of reasons including family obligations, lack of support from some husbands or simply failure to appreciate the importance of their own involvement.[11]

Government Institutions. [illegible] small-scale Enterprises Development and AFC all attempt to provide facilities for developing entrepreneurship among women particularly in rural areas. Their services are constrained at times for lack of funds and enough personnel.

Non-Governmental Organizations and United Nations Agencies: These also work hand-in-hand with the government organs and sometimes with women's groups to train women in various skills.

E. Policies and Legislation

Zimbabwean socialist political inclinations and its commitment to developing all its human and material resources has instituted a number of important policies and legislation to ensure women's increased participation. Many of these have already been mentioned elsewhere and appear in several government publications paramount to this was the establishment of the Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs in 1980 thus fulfilling the objectives of UN Decade for Women. This body is able now to represent Zimbabwean women on all international and regional forums and is able to spearhead the women's development activities.

Guidelines and strategies adopted at such International Conferences in the Arusha Forward Looking Strategies and the UN World Conference for Women in Nairobi held in 1985 all have helped to provide a useful platform on which national machineries can have their operation.

Legislation passed will eventually help increased participation of women in agro-industry. Legislation on equal

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[11] Department of Research and Planning Ministry of Labour. Labour and Economy, p. 45.

rights among workers and women in particular in pay and tax benefits, introducing [illegible] all school going children are all useful instruments to increased participation of women.

The legal age of majority Act 1962 among other things enables women to own property in their own right and be sued as individual and provides freedom from parental control at the age of eighteen. The Matrimony Causes Act of 1985 attempts to eradicate injustices inherent in the customary laws particularly property distribution in case of divorce. The minimum wage Act instituted minimum wages for unskilled workers of which women are the great majority. Maternity leave regulations allow women 90 days maternity leave without loosing their jobs.

All these legal rights have paved ways to removing inhibitions for many women in their work life. However, for the majority of women ignorance of their rights or the deep rooted self-conflict and insecurity, constrain them from taking full advantage of the laws.

IV. CURRENT TRENDS AND CONCLUSIONS ON WOMEN'S INVOLVEMENT IN AGRO-INDUSTRIES

There is an increased awareness not only globally or regionally but also on a national level on the need to involve women who form the majority of the population in agriculture into activities related to agro-industrial production, marketing and distribution. Knowing that agro-industries are key industries in the economy and that women have traditionally and presently continue to play a key role in agriculture in rural areas increasing their participation will ensure increased production and incomes. In many forum, resolutions have been passed to sensitize the relevant bodies about the issues and some actions are being taken at different levels.

A. Actions at International and Subregional Level

On the international level a number of measures have been undertaken including the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action which gave special attention to women's participation in the industrial development process.[22] This basically advocates the importance of ensuring opportunities to women in employment on equal basis with men and to promote rural industrialization to facilitate this.

On the African regional level, the Arusha Strategies continue to provide useful guidelines to the women's machineries in increasing women's participation in industrialization. Various

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[22] Industrial Board Resolution 44(IX).

non-governmental organizations as well as the UNECA/ATRCW has undertaken a number of studies on women in industries in the African region to provide documentation and focus on the problems, suggest measures and provide recommendations on actions to be taken.

B. Actions at the National Level

At the national level, the Ministry of Community Development and the Women's Affairs is working closely with NGOs on various projects aimed at alleviating poverty, ignorance and enabling women's effective participation in agro-industries. These projects are at the moment on small-scale but with improved skills can expand.

The government under its urban development policies to reduce rural-to-urban migration is operating what is popularly known as "growth points". These are new urban settlements where public services in form of shade, public utilities are provided to enable rural entrepreneurship to thrive. Women are taking advantage of this, mainly by opening up eating places for travellers.

FAO in co-operation with Zimbabwe is currently conducting three projects, two are in remote parts of the country. The locations are Rushenga and Binga, both of which are chronically experiencing hostile climatical conditions. The project is trying to introduce drought resistance crops and propagate appropriate technology through demonstration plots. In connection with UNIFEM, a training project for women in food preservation is underway. Other NGOs are co-operating in various training and developmental projects designed to meet the specific needs of the women including creation of awareness of their rights, realization of their potentials and capabilities and identifying other areas where action should be initiated including policy legislation requirements.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Women in Zimbabwe have since independence made great strides in reversing the pre-independence negative policies of restrictions and subordinations that have kept them in poverty and from joining the main stream of development. Historical marks like educational deprivation and denial of proper infrastructures cannot be quickly erased and have to a great degree contributed to the women's conspicuously low participation in agro-industries. Thus, although agro-industries form a significant share of GDP and account for a high proportion of national modern sector employment, women who constitute the majority of the population accounted for only 6 per cent of those employed in manufacturing in 1985. Their numbers in material production have even been decreasing.

Most women in agro-industries are found in low-skilled and unskilled jobs. The high ranking posts for women in these industries are secretarial and administrative related jobs. Food processing and textiles seem to be the major industries that hire women.

Positive government policies towards women's increased involvement have resulted in a number of legislation to remove discriminatory laws. These laws limited women's participation in modern sector employment but many factors notably traditional, cultural attitudes as well as economic factors still impede women's full realization of these efforts. Consequently women fail to actively participate in Labour Union activities and particularly to compete for leadership roles that would give them more say and influence in the decisions. Many women still live in rural areas where poor infrastructural facilities keep them away from effective participation in agro-industries. Though extension services have been provided, some of the criteria used for benefitting these have kept many women away from utilizing them. Scarcity of extension service workers is furthermore slowing down the services.

The informal sector seems to provide an easy outlet for the majority of women both in rural and urban areas where there is relative ease of entry and women's problems of dual roles are accommodated. However, their efforts have tended to be marginal for lack of direction, sufficient training, poor physical infrastructures and insufficient funds.

In the face of relatively decreasing opportunities for women in urban modern sector industries and continued abundance of women in rural areas, increased rural industrialization seem to be the logical direction for achieving increased women's participation in agro-industries. The women need to be able to process their products using more modern technologies and thereby release and realize the benefits from industrialization.

VI. MEASURES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Periodically, every African country must review its objectives and the strategy adopted to achieve the goals. Zimbabwe is at a critical stage in its transformation and integration of women in development. Outlined below are short- and medium-term run, research needs measures and actions which should be considered by both the well wishers from outside and the Zimbabwean themselves:

A. Research Needs

1. Determine issues both conceptual and practical which hinder the implementation of identified courses of action in favour of women and propose new areas which call for action.

2. Determine the impact of the existing institutional framework/modality and propose mechanisms which would best optimize the resource flows including best modalities for co-ordination and necessary domestic and international support institutions with objectives of:

(a) Increasing the volume and effectiveness of international aid flows designed to help women;

(b) Identify religious and other social pressure groups which could be utilized in the campaign to assist women overcome limitations and inadequacies currently preventing them realize their potential.

3. Design ways and means for promoting equal opportunities for both sexes and in particular devise strategies to strengthen girls' science and technical educational appreciation and provision to enable the coming generation of women to overcome this sex biased inadequacy.

B. The International Level

1. Zimbabwe has a good representation of international agencies all of them involved in one way or another in promoting women's increased participation in the economic development of Zimbabwe. For these activities to be effective and benefit the bulk of people they are intended for, increased co-operation and proper co-ordination of activities is needed to avoid unnecessary duplication of efforts. This is particularly true of research where there is a need to share out responsibilities, complement each other and work out an optimization course of action within the context of national priorities.

2. There also needs to be a mobilization of financial and human resources to enable creation and strengthening of institutions designed to assist women in such areas as policy

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identifications, formulation, skill upgrading and propagation of ideas.

C. National Level

1. All efforts should be made to strengthen inter-ministerial co-operation in helping women overcome barriers to their participation in agro-industries through increasing skill training and dissemination of relevant information.

2. The Ministry of Community Development and Women's Affairs should increase its documentation on the women's situation in Zimbabwe. It should provide easy access to data and information to various researchers both local and external including NGOs etc. In achieving this goal, assistance could be sought externally to augment or complement the regular budgetary resources currently available.

3. There is a general laxity that assumes women have overcome their grievances by the series of laws passed over the past years to eliminate discrimination. Efforts designed to educate women about legislation intended to help them overcome negative cultural, traditional attitudes and practices which undermine women's progress should therefore be intensified.

4. Comprehensive studies should be carried out to determine how various legislation and regulations have helped or hindered women's participation in industries. Particularly attention needs to be given to maternity leave legislation with the objective of identifying new areas calling for action for strengthening and determining the best ways of achieving intended goals.

5. As women develop their entrepreneurial skills in the informal sector, the government should take advantage of this momentum to integrate them in the overall economic main stream. This can be achieved by providing services and assistance including provision of advisory services, access to loans, industrial estate, space etc.

6. The government of Zimbabwe may wish to review all the policy aspects that affect women integration in the economy in general and in agro-industries in particular. This review should aim at identifying loopholes, effectiveness in implementation and identification of new ideas which call for action as well as specifying which action is called for within an indicative time frame.

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